David Lacey

T THE moment Chelsea could pass for prospective champions. Certainly they are passing the ball as well as Newcastle United. On Sunday Glenn Hoddle's team overwhelmed a Mid-Hoddle's team overwhelmed a Middlesbrough side for whom defending has become a forgotten art. A 5-0 victory extended Chelsea's present run in the league to 12 matches with one defeat and lifted them to eighth place.

Middlesbrough, by contrast, have now lost seven beggie games out of eight. On December 10 they lay fourth. Another month like this and fears of relegation will be more than an occasional shudder.

The pattern of the game was assured once Lee's strong, sweeping passes from the back had begun to open up the flanks, sometimes for Phelan on the left but more significantly for Petrescu on the right. Middlesbrough found no answer to the liming of either the Romanian's Man Utd (26-48); 3, Liverpool (25-46). passes or his forward runs.

The rest belonged to Gullit, who will always torture demoralised op. Palace 0; Grimsby 1, Derby 1; Huddersfield 1, position with neither the will nor the wit to deny him space, and to Peacock, who scored his first hat-trick in Premiership football.

A crop of injuries, the latest keeping Juninho out of the side, have contributed to Middlesbrough's decline. Yet Chelsea were without not only Hughes and Wise but Duberry. their fast-maturing young centreback, who was also suspended.

In attack Middlesbrough were much as they had been before Jun-

Where miners are company for

9 A line in verse (English) depicting

a king and one higher (4-4)

5, 24 Protest at wearing fewer

12 A mathematical triumvirate?

17 Underlying explanation could be

18 Arab chief accepts £3 to gain

Egyptian leader's ear (5-4)

19 Game going between bars (5)

15 Sir Thomas's manners? (5)

a score out (4,5)

the viburnum (4-4)

10 Row tied in a bow? (6)

clothes as a warning (6-6)

inho's arrival, with Barmby and | had cleared Lee's corner. Peacock's | when the Chelsea keeper turned a shot over the bar. But by the time Wilkinson, who had replaced Fjortoft, hit a post in the 89th minute

Middlesbrough's day was done.
The fact that Chelsea's first goal a minute before the half-hour should not have been allowed was scant consolation for Robson and his players. Yet Gullit was plainly offside as

trescu's through-pass and increase Chelsea's lead. In the 38th minute Gullit found the busy Spencer in space on the right and surged through for the return before setting up a second goal for Peacock. Seven minutes into the second half a wonderful pass from Gullit once more exposed the Middlesbrough defence to Petrescu. Peacock's the defence pushed out after Fjortoft | third, followed two minutes later.

Results and leading positions

FA CARLING PREMIERSHIP: Arsenal 1, Coventry 1; Aston Villa 3, Leeds 0; Blackburn .1. Bolton 1; Chelsea 5. Middlesbrough 0; Liverpool 0, Tottenham 0; Men City 2, QPR 0; Newcastle 2, Shelf Wed 0; Southampton 2,

ENDSLEIGH LEAGUE: First Division: Barnsley 2, Watford 1; Charlton 0, Crystal Tranmere 0; ipswich 2, WBA 1; Leicester 1, Luton 1; Norwich 1, Birmingham 1; Reading 0, Southend 2, Millwall 0; Wolves 3, Sunderland 0. Leading positions 1, Derby (28-61); 2, Chariton (27-46); 3, Huddersfield (29-45).

Second Division: Blackpool 1, Hull City Bournemouth 2, Wycombe 3; Brentford 1 Burnley 0; Brighton 2, Wreyham 2; Bristol R 2, Walsalf 0, Cheslerfield 3, Swansea 2; Notts Co . Peterborough O, Rotherham 1, Oxford 0; Shrewsbury 1, Bredford 1; Swindon 2, Carlisle 1. Leading positions: 1, Swindon (26-53): 2, Crewe (25-47); 3, Notis County (24-46).

Third Division: Barnet I, Scunthorpe 0 Cambridge Utd O, Gillingham O; Cardiff 3.

20 Novel sails for sailor, not one to

25 The best Item is tainted by an

4 Town seat of patronising earl (12)

be novel (5,6)

eruption (4,4)

Doncaster 2; Darlington 2, Leyton Orient 0; Hartispool Uld 1, Rochdels 1; Lincoln City 0 Colchester 0; Manefield 0, Northampton 0; Plymouth 4, Chester 2; Scarborough 0, Exeter 0; Torquay 2, Fulham 1; Wigan 0, Preston 1. Leading positions: 1, Gillingham (27-53); 2, Presion (27-51); 3, Chester (27-44).

BELL'S SCOTTISH LEAGUE: Premier Division: Celtic 2, Hibernian 1; Falkirk 4 Edmarnock 2, Hearts 2, Raith 0, Partick 1 Rangers 2. **Leading positions:** 1, Rangers (25-59); 2, Cellic (25-58); 3, Hearts (25-37).

First Division: Dundee Uld 1. St Johnstone 3, St Mirren 5, Dumbarton O. Leading positions: 1, Dundee Utri (25-46); 2, Greenock Morton (23-45); 3, Dunfermline (21-41).

Second Division: Avr 1, Stenhousemuir 1; East File 1, Clyde 1; Montrose 1, Berwick Rangers 2; Stirling Albion 4. Queen of South 1 Stranger 1, Forlar 0. Leading positions: 1, Silding Albion (23-49): 2, East Fife (23-47); 3. Berwick Rangers (23-38).

Third Division: Alica 0, Ross County 4; Arbroath 1, Queen's Pk 1; Livingston 0, Brechin 1; Cowdenbeath 2, Caledonian Thistie 1.

Leading positions: 1, Brechin (23-42); 2, Arbroath (23-38); 3, Caledonian Thistie (22-37). Cryptic crossword by Araucaria

performance (7-3)

4 Play about stars and selves

21 A female model is less than a

Tree"'s about right (4,6)

22 Some ground for Intrigue (4)

23 Notice particularly over your

head (4)

Last week's solution

HAUES ASSENTER

Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and mailing offices. Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office.

16 Helper in the cellar (4-5)

from French: "The Strawberry

in front of 90,000 people 6 Goat gets prize flower (9) packed into the FNB Stadium 7 It's wrong to be uplifted (4) here, "I never knew our boys 8 Goat destroyed garment (4) could perform this well." 11 Possible clue to plers in 4 (7,5) 13 Sow attachment (audibly, you see) into skin for piano in one

deeper pride.

At the start of the tournament most fans likewise did not know what the team were capable of. And when the players look over the videotupe of the 3-0 semi-

John Periman in Johannesburg final win over Ghana many will pinch themselves and say: "Was that really us?"

It was only in the second half of the final that South Africa began to approach that level of intensity against a Tunisia side not strong enough to dominate the match but wily enough to make winning difficult. Even so, after a series of chances went begging, it needed a man with a sense that this was his day to finish Tunisia off,

"My sister-in-low called me this morning and prayed to me over the phone," said the Wolves striker Mark Williams, who came in off the bench with less than half an hour left. "Then I knew I would score today."

Score Williams did, not once but twice in two minutes — the first a beader from close range, the second a sweetly struck shot after he was sent away on the counter-attack.

While the studium shook with stomping and singing, the South African defenders saw off a last frantic onslaught that produced seven consecutive corners.

Cricket

World Cup close to chaos

Nelson's golden goal

ELSON MANDELA would

never say as much but

Saturday surely gave him more

Last year black South Africans

decades-old divide to embrace

Springboks and the cricketers

won friends in beating England

But this triumph in the sport of

the masses has stirred a much

present," Mandela said after

"This is my best New Year's

South Africa's convincing victory

pleasure than any of the other

sporting triumphs that he has

presided over and helped to

reached joyously across a

the World Cup-winning

South Africa's victory last

David Hopps

WEST INDIES joined forces with Australia this week in imploring the World Cup organisers to reschedule their group match outside Sri Lanka in the wake of last week's terrorist bomb blast in

Although West Indies did not quite follow Australia's lead by expressly refusing to play in Sri Lanka, the tone of their statement implied that refusal was inevitable if a switch was not granted

Pilcom, the joint hosts' organismissed Australia's request, its been exposed as folly. secretary Jagmohan Dalmiya insisting: "Pilcom has decided that the matches in Sri Lanka will be played

Proposed (4,4)

26 Having a go at being vexatious (6)

27 Unorthodox set gives reflcs (8)

Down

1 Almost arrive to pledge mutual agreement? (10)

2 It any circumstances tidiness is a lot to ask (1,4,5)

3 Stout fellow giving a soft answer (5)

4 Town seat of patronising earl (12) who spoke in Sydney on Monday of of Control for Cricket in Sri Lanka. "a genuine concern of life-threatendisqualification. Indeed that is for the players' safety and peace of

playing conditions about this," Dalmiya said. "It is totally unprece-

The West Indian announcement will have come as a jolt, but it would require formidable diplomatic efforts to persuade the organisers to change their stance before Sunday's opening ceremony in Calcutta. Whatever the merits of the argu-

ment, the willingness of cricket's authorities to invest decisions of such magnitude in a 12-strong organising committee, comprising representatives from Pakistan, India and Sri Lanka, rather than invest the ICC iting committee, have steadfastly dis-self with overall powers, has again

Peter Short, president of the West Indies Board of Control, released a statement saying: "We are greatly appreciative of the security Australia's captain Mark Taylor, measures being taken by the Board

"However . . . the board has relucing injury", played down the risk of tantly come to the conclusion that highly improbable, Pilcom's re- mind . . . it has requested Pilcom to sponse suggesting only mounting reschedule the Sri Lanka v West confusion. There is nothing in the Indies match outside Sri Lanka." © Guardian Publications Ltd., 1996. Published by Guardian Publications Ltd., 164 Deansgate, Manchester, M60 2RR, and printed by WCP Commercial Printing, Leek.

TheGuardian

Vol 154, No 7 Week ending February 18, 1998

cobered and the property of the cobered and the Colored Colore

Fragile hopes spring from bomb rubble | Serb officers

Michael White, David Sharrock

RAGILE hopes of rescuing the Northern Ireland peace process emerged this week from the rubble of the IRA's bomb in London's Docklands as the British and Irish governments groped towards a compromise formula which could still lead to early election and all-party talks — which could include Sinn Fein representatives.

A conciliatory John Major won the virtually unanimous support of a sombre House of Commons on Monday for his renewed commitment to a constitutional settlement. which he coupled with a challenge to Sinn Fein to denounce political

But senior Dublin ministers enthusiastically seized on his simultaneous hint of fresh flexibility in the wake of their quarrel over the Mitchell Commission report. The and his deputy, Dick Spring, both welcomed Mr Major's "clear and direct" link between elections and the elusive all-party negotiations.

There were strong pointers from both sides that the leaders of the Social Democratic and Labour Party ling concessions last week designed to deliver an elected forum in Northern Ireland in May, and rapid, time-limited negotiations within in almost immediately afterwards.

"The bomb came at a time when we were very close to a formula that would have enabled us to move forward very quickly," Mr Bruton told Channel 4 News.

The Guardian has learned that negotiate in three parallel sessions. | and the Labour Opposition are con-



A boy is held aloft at a rally in Belfast on Monday to support the peace process

no plenary sessions, only a final vote among the elected parties on the final agreement, some time this

The source of slender optimism - reinforced by IRA indications from Dublin that the bomb was a one-off gesture of frustration stems from British claims that the Unionists will not seek further delay by demanding "talks about talks" in an elected forum.

initiative on Monday by the SDLP's Irish border to reject violence and endorse all-party talks - ministers

matches of the past, there would be | ing elections. There was even talk of | ern Ireland, a spirit of peace", and fitting in Dublin's own formula for | said the IRA would "never bomb breaking the deadlock - high- their way to the negotiating table". pressure, Bosnian-style "proximity talks" between the parties.

According to British ministerial sources, the new body would give vetoes over those discussions in short timescale. Britain's blueprint, which has

Unionist counterpart. David Trimble, would be a test of the democratic mandate of the parties, but the size of negotiating delegations would not automatically reflect their electoral strength.

In his TV broadcast to the nation on Monday night, Mr Major insisted sent to war crimes court

'WO Serb officers at the centre of a row which has threatened to unravel the Bosnian peace agree-ment arrived at the Scheveningen prison near The Hague on Monday after being flown out of Sarajevo, bound for the United Nations war crimes tribunal.

The dramatic extradition of General Djordje Djukic and Colonel Aleksa Krsmanovic, under heavy Nato guard, is almost certain to enrage the Bosnian Serb army, which severed contacts with the Nato-led Peace Implementation Force (I-For) after the officers' arrest late last month by Bosnian police. This is the first time the tribunal has extradited suggests from Pain agreement between Bosnian and Serbian leaders over the weekend, establishing new rules for the pursuit of war criminals. Under the deal, the Bosnian government can arrest only war crimes suspects who appear on a list agreed in advance with The

Hague tribunal. Mr Holbrooke said: "We feel that the better understanding of what we would call 'rules of the road' is now in effect ... and tensions that have risen in recent days should now

It was unclear whether the Serbian president, Slobodan Milosevic had agreed to the new rules knowing that the two officers would be extradited. Even if he did, it is far from certain that he would be able to persuade the Boanian Serb military commander, Ratko Mladic, to accept the extradition of his men.

Washington Post, page 15 Comment, pages 12-13

The day the IRA brought its ceasefire to a bloody end



came to a bloody end at 7.01pm last Friday with a blast that rocked | there were a series of warnings, east London, killed two people and | coded, of a recognised nature, that injured more than 100, caused up to £150 million in damage, and thrust services here. Whilst they were Northern Ireland back into political The bomb was believed to have

underground garage in a six-storey office block between South Quay of violence" would end at 6pm. station and an unfinished and empty building. Nearby buildings, where workers were still at their desks when the explosion blasted the Isle of Dogs, were protected from worse damage by the empty building.

was about to end came when Scotland Yard received warnings from

Grieve, head of Scotland Yard's anti-THE 17-month IRA ceasefire terrorist branch, after visiting the scene, said: "Shortly before 6pm clearing the scene an explosion

The message warned that the been planted, at ground level, in an IRA had "with great reluctance" decided that the "complete cessation

been realised. Moments after 7pm the blast was heard throughout east and north-east London.

The bomb, between 500lb and one ton in weight, had been placed The first hint that the ceasefire on a flat-back Ford Cargo lorry with false registration plates. It had been spotted by an officer, PC Roger de news agencies and Sky Television at | Graaf, injured in the blast, moments

Police over the weekend studied thousands of feet of closed circuit television film in an attempt to trace the vehicle's movements and see i there are any signs of the bombers

Echoing his Commons statement,

he said the search for peace would

continue. He said the principal pur-

pose of his proposed elected body

was to lead to negotiations within a

"Sinn Fein and the IRA have a

choice. Only when they commit

themselves unequivocally to peace,

and reinstate the ceasefire can they

have a voice and a stake in North-

ern Ireland's future. But if they

reject democratic principles and use

pathy and no quarter."

violence, they can expect no sym-

The two men killed in the explosion were named as Inan Ul-Haq may lose Lords vote south-west London, and John Jef- Worms turn feries, aged 31, of Bromley, Kent. Three seriously injured people re- on Scott report main in hospital.

The Prime Minister, John Major, Within an hour, the threat had immediately attacked the bombing as "an appalling outrage"

The Sinn Fein president, Gerry Adams, said he was saddened that the IRA censelire had ended, saying he regretted that "an unprecedented opportunity for peace has foundered on the refusal of the British government and Unionist leaders to enter into dialogue and substantive negotiations."

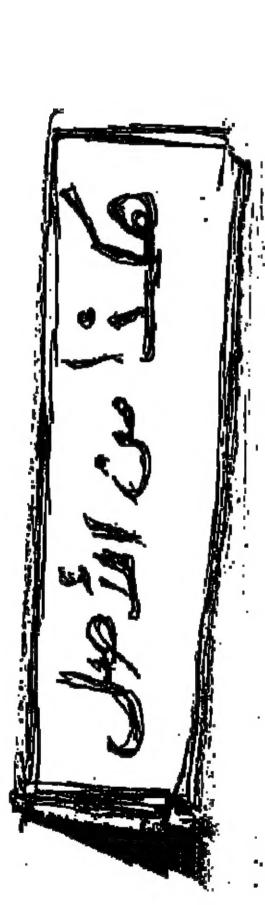
Russia strikes oil deal with iraq

Buchanan takes heart from lowa

Hereditary peers

Cézanne, the painter's painter

> Netherlands G 4.75 Saudi Arábia SR 6.50 " FF 13 DR 400 Sweden SK 19 L3,000 Switzerland SF3.30



A tutorial in basic student economics

Weekly's view that a graduate tax to. They can continue to squeeze everyone in Britain who ever bene- without additional funding has to fited now make repayments?

At one time, a university degree was thought to enable the holder to earn a higher income and therefore pay more tax, which in itself is a way of repaying society, in addition to the greater contribution a graduate is, in principle, able to make.

Isn't the underfunding of all services a consequence of Tory dogma: the divine right of the individual to keep as much of his own money as

L R Armstrong.

problems of those from economically disadvantaged backgrounds. It also fails to mention the need for a repayment system which must necessarily be linked to income. These issues must be tackled if the economy is to retain talented people attracted to the "caring" professions which are notoriously badly paid, yet require education to degree level. Arun Arora,

IT IS the equivalent of the first postgraduate research have their tucuckoo of spring: vice-chancellors | ition loans written off. This is be- an alleged "East Asian" standard of proposing top-up fees. Each year for | cause they will have generally about a decade, someone from their ranks has made such a proposal.

The Committee of Vice-Chancel-

■ N LINE with the Guardian | what education system they aspire more students into the system withthe Government that expansion stop. Or they can choose to abandon the principle of free tuition that has been a cherished hallmark of British higher education for so many years.

> THE MOST pressing question that is always asked when hopeful sixth-formers are being shown around university is not "How good is the course?", but "How much in debt will \ be?" (followed by "Where's the Job Centre?"). With current proposals abolish grants and make loans larger, the only people left taking degrees will

around £6,000 by the time I finish). It seems that the recent change in demography of students, from the élite few to the classless many. is only going to be a brief adventure Ben Wheeler.

Frampton-on-Severn, Gloucestershire

carried out useful research work for little financial return. Alexander Chablo.



United Kingdom £24.00.. Europe (inc. Eire) . £26.50 ... USA, Canada Rest of the World . 230.50 . To: The Guardian Weekly, 164 Deansgate, Manchester M60 2RR, England Please mail The Guardian Weekly for 🗀 6 months

Subscription rates

Subscription ordered by

6 months

l enclose payment of £..... Tick if this is a renewal order 🗖 by Sterling cheque drawn on UK bank/Sterling Eurochaque payable to 'The Guardian Weakly' о П Ревзе debit my vise/MesterCard/American Express cord number.

Credit card subscription orders may be sent to fex no: +44 (0) 161 876 6362 e-mail inquines to: gwauba@guardian.co.uk

I prefor not to receive promotional offers from selected companies

China's distance from democracy

HINA'S extraordinary eco-O nomic reforms naturally disnose observers (Beijing dodges democracy, January 28) to weigh forms. Now that China is rich, will it

Often, a more alarming prospect overlooked: the likelihood that China will not only retain its imperial, authoritarian traditions, but that t will become powerful enough to "export" a measure of its neo-Confucian legacy to other countries, and eventually to the world at large.

The danger is real. Acting in garchies in the region, the Chinese government has determined to challenge the moral foundations of the worldwide human rights system.

As one might expect. Beijing's terests at the expense of individual liberties. China aims to entrench these regressive standards within its governments acquiesce in an emasculation of universal human rights standards.

Already the Chinese authorities have succeeded to a degree that Rt Rev Peter Hall, Bishop of may surprise even themselves. | Woolwich, Rt Rev Wilfred Wood. Statesmen from many countries. greedy for business contracts, have been elbowing each other aside in their eagerness to kowtow to Beior And even the serious scholarly jour-Diocese of Southwark, nals are full of solemn debate about

human rights. One day, China may become Religion sure of formal international endorsement for its malevolent vision. When that happens, the world will be left with a compromised and debased human rights system. Then, it will be not only the long-suffering Chinese people, but every one of us who will be in danger.

Patrick Kavanagh, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada

A prayer for the refugee

EW PEOPLE are even aware that an increasing number of asylum seekers in Britain will have no money to live on, and no right to which they, in turn, would subsidisc work. No wonder, in view of the schools for Christmas on their terripoor coverage given by the media to tory. Similar steps could then be the savage new regulations Peter | taken to satisfy the special requireers are the forgotten minority among the FTP, the forgotten 30 per

seeker, and who has received a first not imparting any religious instruction and to turn to humanism. decision against their claim, cannot tion at all in school, thus sparing Tony Akkermans, receive any benefit support while tender minds this kind of juvenile they make an appeal. Currently, a indoctrination. In these countries it high proportion of such people are is held that it is no more the busistill awaiting a decision, and may ness of the state to instruct chilwell need to appeal if refused. They dren in any one religion than it will not receive any benefit while | would be, for example, to instruct waiting for an answer, and will not them in any one political ideology. be allowed to work during the first and that the task of educational ausix months in this country. The fact thority should be to develop intelis that a higher proportion of cases | lectual faculties of their charges in are adjudged to be genuine on ap- such a way as to enable them to peal than they are on the first hear- make an unbiased evaluation of

The Home Secretary is trying to | Stuart Dabbs. ensure that all such decisions are | Villajoyosa, Alicante, Spain

made at the port of entry. A refugee arriving in the UK from a situation of

persecution is immediately in strange surroundings, unknown procedures including a 75-question form to be filled in, possibly no knowledge claim to be asylum seekers after few weeks. Such people may well be port from them as they seek to get a deep betrayal of how any country ought to deal with neople who are

We can only assume that no politsystem of dealing with refugees, because of the unpopularity of their

If our vote catchers can afford to ignore the FTP, what hope refugees within that 30 per cent There have to be ways in which asylum seekers have their claims proprefugees. We as Christians believe own borders, but also — thanks to | that this way does not even begin to Conservative solution ignores the available and will think about the con- its growing economic power — it measure against the standard of jusquired to uphold. What we do with still cannot bear the thought of their refugees today, we will do to others | wives, or other women, being sucwho have no political redress

Bishop of Croydon, Rt Rev Roger Sainsbury, Bishop of Barking, Ven Clive Young, Archdeacon of Hackney. Ven Douglas Bartles-Smith.

OD FORBID that Muslim Capildren in British schools should ever think, as Mohammed Amin of the Batley Muslim Association fears (Muslims boycott RE Classes, January 28) that their teachers may tell them the "truth" in the classroom.

Mr Amin is, of course, quite right when he concludes that a statefunded, all Muslim school would | he is including New Zealand? greatly facilitate the "forming" of | John Chapman. young Asian and Middle Eastern | Erskineville, NSW, Australia childrens' religious beliefs. Perhaps we could negotiate a reciprocal agreement with important Muslim states like Iran and Saudi Arabia, by Lilley has proposed. Asylum seek- ments of Buddhists, Hindus, Sikhs, Taoists, Confucianists, Jews and

ing. Starving people cannot wait | each religion and accept or reject long enough for their case to be them according to their own unclouded criteria,

Briefly

THE WEEKLY of January 21 basa scathing description of US poltics, "The best democracy of money can buy" (Martin Walke There is also a leader piously deplo ing Mr Scargill's objecting to N Labour. In Australia, we have had Labor government for 16 years, say considered it could weaken our ee tarian sentiments more successfills than an openly rightwing party. scems the job has been well don and the conservative parties will now be brought in for the final touches Scargill's protest may be futile, but it's good to see that not everyone is content with economic rationalism

GUARDIAN WEEK

February 18 19

A /HAT a sad comment: "She VV [Hillary Clinton] was most disliked by college-educated white' males, 'because she reminds them of their wives'." (Martin Walker, Feb.) ruary 4) This seems to reflect much and best" than on either Ms Clinton cessful and in positions of power. Diana Quick, Brooklyn, New York, USA

IONAS HUGHES weighs up the U arguments in the language and mind debate (Learning English, Jaing the views of two people who represent only slightly different positions on the same side of the debate. Noam Chomsky and Steven Pinker both argue that the mind largely shapes language. But by as guing this way, they get reality & most exactly back-to-front. contrary and more recent view, that the discourses we encounter in our lives largely shape the brain, is increasingly being accepted across a range of human science disciplines. (Prof) David Corson, Toronto, Ontario, Canada

////EN Roger Milton (February V V 4) mentions not six, but seven Australian states, may we assume

RINCE Charles is well-meaning but mistaken. Holding out hope for moral improvement through greater reliance on spirituality and religious faith is like increasing has had thousands of years to prove itself and has failed miserably. Much better to use the millennion In some countries, like France, to draw a line under the deep divi-Anyone claiming to be an asylum they have solved this problem by sions arising from religious tribal-



February 18, 1998 Vol 154 No 7 . . Copyright @ 1996 by Guardian Publications Ltd., 119 Farringdon Road, London. United Kingdom, Ali rights reserved. Annual subscription rates are £47 (United Kingdom); £52 (Europe Inc. Elre); £65 USA and Canada; £60 Rest of World. Letters to the Editor and other editorial correspondence to: The Guardian Weeldy 75 Farringdon Road, London EC1M3HQN Fex: 44-171-242-0985 (UK: 0171-2420985 e-mail; weekly@querdian.co.uk

Sheikh Hasina, president of Bangladesh's opposition Awami League, comforts the widow of Abdul Alim, a leading party member, shot dead in clashes with political opponents in Dhaka last week PHOTO: PAVEL RAHMAN

Boycott makes farce of Bangladesh polls

Suzanne Goldenberg in Dhaka

GUARDIAN WEEKLY February 18 1998

ANGLADESH'S ruling Nationalist Party on Monday faced a ties are boycotting the vote because new threat to its plans to hold a genthe prime minister, Begum Khaleda eral election — already boycotted by all the main opposition parties after civil servants said they would not staff polling booths.

Senior civil servants, representing more than 1,000 public employees, said they would defy an order | face much challenge in the others. to report as returning officers for Thursday's vote.

one bureaucrat. "Yesterday two of our colleagues were hurt in a bomb

eral strike, the bureaucratic boycott and television presenters have said | showing that there is competition, Despite the protestations of the government, there are few signs

that Bangladesh is entering the last days of an election campaign.

Zia, has refused to make way for a neutral administration that would guard against electoral fraud.

BNP candidates have already been elected unopposed in 49 con-The Seven-Party Alliance, which is

1991 — the only fair elections independent Bangladesh. Other contenders, such as the Freedom Party Although the opposition has and an Islamist party, scored just vowed to disrupt the polls with a gen- | 0.27 per cent of the vote last time. could be far more harmful. Radio | there only with the intention of

> said Khandakar Abdul Malik, who is defending his seat for the BNP in

At the weekend, Begum Khaleda Zia made her second campaign trip | full participation.

Aka This campaign belongs to the ruling Bangladesh Nationalist Party in the constituencies she is contesting Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP). All the main opposition pardevastation in her wake, as protest-

Political commentators fear that the escalating clashes surrounding election activity could force a cancellation of the polls and even — though they still see it as a remote possibility - a return to military rule. But the BNP argues that it would

"The violence and terror tactics | are being applied only by three opposition parties," Badruddoza Chowdhury, the former deputy "These parties have been placed | parliamentary leader, told a press He said that once the new gov-

ernment is elected it will try to seek

a compromise with the BNP's main opponent, the Awami League, so that new elections can be held with

Russia signs 'giant' oil deal with Iraq

David Hearst in Moscow

USSIA has signed agree ments for a number of grand projects to extract crude oil ments for a number of "glant" and help Iraq, which remains subject to United Nations economic sanctions, to rebuild its shattered power industry, Baghdad newspapers reported at the weekend.

The reports said the deal had been signed last week in Moscow after a series of meetings between and Russia's fuel and energy makov's ro' minister, Yuri Shafranik. However, helpful". the agreement was signed only at the level of officials, rather than

While not denying that a "protocol" had been signed, Russian officials refused to elaborate on the

ers ran riot in an attempt to stop the New York with Iraqi officials on the issue of lifting sanctions. The implementation of Security Council Resolution 986 would allow Baghdad to sell oil worth \$2 billion over six months to pay for urgently needed food and medical supplies.

Russia and the US disarrelease some 660 Kuwaitis who disappeared during the Gulf crisis.

After two days of talks in Helsinki at the weekend with his Russian counterpart, the US secretary of state, Warren Christopher, said Yevgeny Primakov had given him an assurance that the oil deal would go ahead only after the UN had lifted sanctions on Iraq.

Mr Christopher said: "My understanding is that that contract . . . is explicitly contingent on Iraq satisfy- Mr Kozyrev.

ing the UN resolutions and being out from under the oil sauctions." But Mr Primakov, a Middle East specialist, is known to have kept close contacts with the Iraqi president, Saddam Hussein, after trying unsuccessfully to mediate between the West and Baghdad as a special envoy in the run-up to the Gulf war

in 1991. When Mr Primakov recently replaced the pro-Western Andrei the Iraqi first deputy industry and mines minister, Qahtan al-Anbaki, James Baker described Mr Primakov's role in that period as "un-

The Iraqi oil deal is the first sign of Russia's emerging policy to boost its political and trade links with its former client Arab states.

Russia has confirmed a separate deal with Baghdad to train Iraqi oil deal's size. Some sources said it experts at the Russian Gubkin Oil could be worth \$10 billion to and Gas Academy and to send Russia.

Russia. Baghdau is determined to give Russian oil firms preferential treatment once the UN lifts its sanctions.

After the Helsinki talks, Mr Primakov insisted there was "no basis" to consider that the Russian-US relationship was in crisis. He said the meeting was "very fruitful. As Americans like to say, it was a very business-like meeting " dangerous for our mutual relations and also for the whole world.

Mr Christopher said their relationship had got off to a good start, professing himself pleasantly surprised by "the attitudes of openness he brought, and the willingness to recognise differences and manage

But despite the diplomatic words. Mr Christopher knows he faces a much tougher interlocutor in Mr Primakov than he had previously in

Derek Brown in Jerusalem

SRAEL faces more than three months of bitter politicking over the Middle East peace process, following Sunday's announcement by the prime minister, Shimon Peres, of early general elections.

The date favoured by Mr Peres is May 28, though polling may be delayed for a week or two following inter-party negotiations.

The move had been widely predicted, with Mr Peres and the ruling Labour-led coalition galloping ahead of the opposition in all opinion polls. The polls also suggest Mr Peres has a lead of up | early breakthrough so that he to 20 per cent over his main rival, Benyamin Netanyahu of the Likud party.

This year, for the first time, Israelis will be voting not only for But with the US-sponsored the party of their choice in nationwide list-based elections, but also months, he evidently decided directly for the prime minister.

The government wants to increase its wafer-thin majority in the Knesset (parliament) in advance of two key peace moves, which are likely to become the main election issues.

In May, it is due to open de-tailed talks with the PLO on a permanent peace treaty. The talks, expected to last several years, will address the most explosive of issues dividing Israelie and Palestinians: the future of Jerusalem, the Jewish settlements, the Palestinian refugees, and the status and borders of Palestine itself.

With the PLO talks looming Israel is already embroiled in detailed and tortuous peace negotiations with Syria, focused on terms for the return of the Golar Heights, captured in 1967. Mr Peres had hoped for an

could substitute a general election for the referendum promised by the government or the outcome of the Golan talks. negotiations likely to go on for instead to cash in on the tide of public sympathy flowing heavily in the government's favour since the November 4 assassination of Yitzhak Rabin.

Comment, page 13

Peres opts for early elections | Amnesty warns Arafat on abuses

MNESTY International has issued a sharp warning to the process. Palestinian president, Yasser Arafat, not to permit human rights abuses by his security forces — and urged countries which back the peace process with Israel to be more vigilant.

In an unusual move, Amnesty's ! secretary-general, Pierre Sané, said on Monday - as Mr Arafat was fore the acting head of the Palestine being aworn in as president — that there could be no "special pleading" by the Palestinians because of their own suffering under the Israeli

Mr Sane's comments followed a meeting with Mr Arafat in Gaza last week in which the Palestinian leader

arbitrary detentions of suspected Palestinian opponents of the peace his government's actions.

Reports of torture in detention have been rife and six prisoners have died in custody. State security courts have held trials in secret. said. Nine separate bodies, equally unaccountable, handle security matters.

month and took his oath of office be-National Council, Salim al-Zaanoun, and chief justice, Qusai al-Abadleh. The ceremony took place at the headquarters of the Palestinian leg-Islative council in Gaza.

"Human rights abuses are being Under his self-rule deal with it to ban the use of torture, includjustified by the need to ensure the Israel, Mr Arafat will head a Pales- ing the "physical pressure" cursuccess of the peace process," Mr | tinian government during an in- | rently permitted. Sané said. "Public opinion is being terim period until both sides agree manipulated in order to obtain tacit on the final status of the West Bank soldiers in the West Bank on Mon-May-but progress is likely to be delayed by Israel's forthcoming general election."

Mr Arafat told Mr Sané last week human rights groups would not be | both Israel and the United States to hindered. Mr Arafat sald no one was | crack down on enemies of the peace "above the law", but refused to com- process - mainly militant Islamists. But Amnesty's message is that he rity reasons".

Amnesty is concerned because of | must now be treated like any other leader and accept responsibility for

"We shouldn't take it for granted that Palestine will be different from other Arab states when it comes to human rights protection," Mr Sané

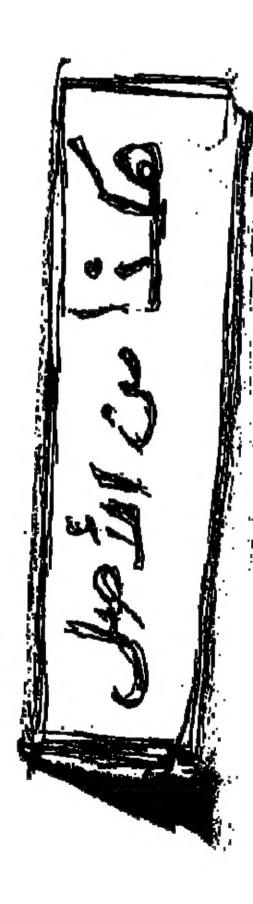
"And governments supporting the peace process are not living up to Mr Arafat won elections last their international obligations in ensuring that human rights standards are maintained. We need to exercise the same degree of scrutiny as we do with other regimes. There can be no

Amnesty has also criticised Israel for human rights abuses and urged Palestinians scuffled with Israeli

approval of violations and restric- and Gaza Strip, Talks are to begin in | day during protests against Israeli restrictions on movement outside PLO-ruled towns, witnesses said. Israel erected roadblocks around

the towns of Ramallah and Qalqilya. barring Palestinians from leaving and Israelis from entering.

An Israeli army sookeswoman said the closures were imposed "for secu-



AIREAN troops ringed a Rwandan refugee camp in Kibumba to start an operation to put pressure on a million refugees to go home voluntarily.

RI LANKAN troops went on the rampage in the east of the country over the weekend, killing at least 24 Tamil civilians and wounding at least 25 others.

HE DIPLOMATIC row between Spain and Belgium over a Brussels court decision to free two suspected Basque terrorists instead of extraditing them escalated as Spain announced that it was suspending a crucial immigration agreement among key EU countries.

■ N A MARKED departure from the teachings of the Vatican, French Roman Catholic bishops have recommended the use of condonis to combat Aids.

guerrillas in the mountainous region near San Luis, some 200km from the capital, Bogota.

RACTISING homosexuals should be ordained as priests as a matter of justice and compassion, the Archbishop of Cape Town, Desmond Tutu, said.

HE INDIAN government said it was prepared to have talks with former Kashmiri guerrillas to try to end a six-year revolt against Indian rule in the region.

ADOVAN KARADZIC, the Bosnian Serb leader indicted for war crimes by a UN tribunal, showed he was still a force to be reckoned with by making a high-profile tour of Banja Luka, the biggest city under Serb control.

Washington Post, page 15

ORTH Korea has had second thoughts on a decision to seek international assistance for its flood victims and has told foreign relief agencies not to organise new appeals for help.

L. AlTI experienced its first penceful handover of power from one freely-elected president to another when Jean-Bertrand Aristide handed over the presidency to René Préval. Washington Post, page 15

TLEAST 11 people were killed in a pile-up involving 250 cars on a fog-bound motorway in northern Italy.

Innocent left to rot in Nigeria's jails

Chris McGreal in Lagos

pick at his lice and close his ears to the wheezing, near-naked mass around him, Benedict Kehinde sometimes wondered if it would not have been better to have been convicted.

He would still have been welcomed to Kirikiri prison, in Lagos, with a pummelling by the other inmates until his ribs cracked. And he would still have been forced to sleep with the "shit bucket" spilling on to him until a new prisoner arrived as the virgin of the cell.

But the Nigerian prison system treats those who have been sentenced marginally better than the masses waiting endlessly for a trial. made life a kind of hell for others.

As it was, Mr Kehinde, like most years in Kirikiri and was never con-

Baba Gana Kingibe, the internal affairs minister, made the unusual

David Hearst in Moscow

RESIDENT BORIS YELTSIN

minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin, 10

days last week to produce a plan to

refinance and re-equip the entire

Russian army and defence industry:

a sign that the president is prepar-

ing to batten down the pre-election

services had organised a "brain

the national security council, he or-

dered intelligence chiefs to step up

West's high-technology secrets.

their efforts to secure for Russia the

He claimed that Western special | Turin next month.

gave his beleaguered prime

Nigeria's judicial and prison system. The wheels of justice turn so slowly that two-thirds of the inmates more than 35,000 people — are awaiting trial. Some have been held as long as 10 years.

Many do not survive the violence. starvation rations and disease that have led Nigeria's Civil Liberties country's ialls "tombs without

Mr Kehinde, now aged 43 and begging on the streets of Lagos, admits that he was illegally hooking his shack home to overhead power cables when the police descended. He took it in his stride until he was accused not of stealing electricity but of sabotaging the power grid the all-powerful "cell boss" who an offence that carries up to life im-

hinde to Kirikiri prison, which is

"It was a big shock that first time I saw the cell. There was no room

Police seize a student demonstrating outside Japan's embassy in Seoul, South Korea, against Japanese

claims to two islands. Tokyo also faces a possible row with China over two other islands. The disputes

have been sparked by Japan's plans for a 320km economic zone around its shores PHOTO: AHN YOUNG-JOON

Yeltsin seeks | EU reels at charges of

West's secrets disarray during crises

John Palmer in Brussels and

Martin Walker in Washington

▲ CCUSATIONS from the United

is too divided to manage crises on

its own doorstep were received with

The president of the European

drain" of Russia's most talented mili- been cited by Washington as an ex- those of other senior US diplomats

crets and weaken its high lyst for criticism is last week's sels because of the role Washington

technology potential. Speaking to confrontation between Greece and played when it took the diplomatic

the phone with Athens and Ankara,

undiaguised embarrassment

Brussels last week.

admission recently that there was | for me. The men were like the dead. something appallingly wrong with | Even the beggars on the street have more clothes. Even the beggars are not so starving. I thought if they put me in there I would never come out alive," he said.

As he stood dumbfounded, a fist struck Mr Kehinde behind the ear. He staggered into other prisoners. It was the excuse they needed to "punish" him. He collapsed under the blows and kicks until he lay coughing blood on to the filthy cell

The ritual beating over, new prisoners are hauled before the "cell boss" and assessed a "state tax" for his coffers. Mr Kehinde thought wise to hand over what little money had not been taken by the police. Kirikiri was built to hold 704 in-

crammed into its cells sleep in shifts. The privileged have card-The police said they needed time | board between them and the cold to investigate. A judge sent Mr Ke- | concrete floor. There is little natural light and ventilation. Some jails were built when Queen Victoria was Nigeria's supreme ruler.

Food is the daily obsession. The | against him.

ing through the night," the assistant

US secretary of state, Richard Hol-

brooke, said. "You have to wonder

Nearly a week after the Aegean

confrontation, the European Com-

mission last week issued its first pub-

lic pronouncement on it. But it did

why Europe does not seem capable

States that the European Union of taking decisive action in its own

Commission, Jacques Santer, wants | little more than deplore the dangers

EU governments to agree to signifi- of armed conflict and express relief

While the Bosnian crisis has long Mr Holbrooke's criticisms, and

Turkey over the Aegean islet of Imia. lead from the EU to broker the

the Europeans were literally sleep. Euro buck passing, page 14

"While President Clinton was on Bosnian peace accord."

government budgets 10 US cents a day to feed each prisoner. Water is Ehonwa, head of the CLO's prison investigations, estimates that dozens of prisoners die in Nigerian nils each week.

Medical care is virtually non-existent. Even when the doctors are able to help, the CLO says the prison warders usually steal the prescribed drugs. "To call this anything other than murder is to collaborate in the pogrom being perpetrated in the prisons," the CLO said in a report.

Between battling hunger and sleep deprivation, Mr Kehinde also had to survive the routine violence for infractions of the cell boss rules, or from sadistic warders who run an elaborate system of theft and

Prison guards even hire out in mates as cheap labour on construc tion sites and factories. The warders pocket the pay.

Mr Keliinde would have we comed the chance to get out of h cell, but those on remand are con sidered more likely to try to escape Mr Kehinde walked free in Octo-

ber, when a judge finally ruled that the police had no real evidence

189 die in Caribbean plane crash

an Traynor in Bonn

dead last week in the shark-infested waters of the Caribbean after an illegal flight by a chartered Boeing 757 crashed just off the Dominican Re

There were no known survivors among the 176 passengers and I' crew. A two-mile stretch of wreckage was bobbing on the sea, including bodies, seat cushions, empty life rafts, life jackets and olf slicks. Pilots saw sharks circling.

The German authorities said the Boeing, chartered by the Alas Na cionales airline, had no licence to f to Berlin and Frankfurt, its destinations, and had no landing permission. Some reports said the plane was not insured.

The plane was not permitted to fly to Germany," said Volker Mattern of the German transport min-istry. "Before it flies, the airline must contact the air authorities is the target country, and Alas Na-cionales did not do that."

The tour operator, Vural Oeger of Hamburg-based Oeger Tours, said the airline switched from a planned Boeing-767 to the Boeing-757 shortly before take-off because the 767's hydraulic system was malfunc-

The Boeing disappeared within

three minutes of take-off from the

Dominican Republic's Puerto Plata

short notice.

But Rosamarie Meichsner, spokeswoman for Schoenefeld airport in Berlin, said the planes were Mr Yeltsin accused western security services of undermining Russia's military potential, and ordered security policy is decided, and to Blame for the political paralysis of about 300 people. The 757 holds a radical programme of hi-tech remake this a priority for the Maas- the past week is mainly being laid at 224 passengers. A German transtricht treaty review conserence in the doorstep of Italy's weak EU port ministry spokesman said that the 767 had flying permission for Germany, but the replacement did

voted back to the leadership. tary scientists to get Russia's se- ample of EU inertia, the latest cata- are felt all the more keenly in Brus- that no landing permit was needed Mr Howard released his pitch for the important so-called ethnic vote when a plane was substituted at

immigration go any higher."

Keating fails to deliver

Qatar's emir upsets neighbours A democratising sheikh killer punch

writes Kathy Evans Christopher Zinn in Sydney

HE AUSTRALIAN prime minister, Paul Keating, narrowly defeated his conservative rival, John Howard, in the first debate of the federal election campaign at the way weekend. But political analysts said he failed to deliver the decisive victory he so desperately needed to revive his flagging campaign before of the Gulf states is the emir's father, Sheikh Khalifa al Thani, a national assembly.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

February 18 1996

In the eagerly awaited televised In the eagerly awaited televised contest, Mr Keating, fighting to save Labor after 13 years in power, trols an estimated \$3 billion of the save Labor after 13 years in power.

According to high-level sources sources in Qatar, the deposed emir still conand Iraq, both of which are viewed with suspicion by other Gulf states.

Sought better relations with iran pounded recently by his decision to let the Bahraini opposition movelies the Bahraini opposition moveli

"If people believe they can give three years to the opposition — to a party trying to copy-cat the government - to adopt the government's policies, I assure them that the fire will go out," he said.

A poll of the studio audience gave Mr Keating 51 per cent and Mr Howard 49 per cent. But it may not be enough. There was no killer punch," said Paul Lynham, a politi-cal commentator. "I don't think Howard has come away signifi-cantly down in his standing in the community. I don't think Keating has done himself an enormous amount of good."

Mr Howard, however, hit a nerve with the electorate when he said: this present government has now developed all the signs of arrogance, of being out of touch, of taking people for granted."

It was a defining moment for Mr Howard, who has lost one election to Labor and was dumped by his party in 1989. Since then he has rewented himself, developing from what he calls the "radical conservative" of the eighties to a "tolerant conservative"

Some observers doubt Mr Howard's ability to lead Australia. Alan Ramsey, the Sydney Morning Her-ald's chief political commentator, said: "He would make a solid but very unspectacular prime minister, and a very conservative one."

But the national moud for change is strong after 13 years of Labor rule, and the polls put Mr Howard's opposition coalition of the Liberal National parties about eight to 10 points ahead

After 22 years in parliament, Mr Howard knows that if he can avoid scaring the voters with plans to overhaul radically the industrial relations and Medicare health system, is place in The Lodge, the prime minister's official Canberra residence, is almost assured.

The Labor ascendancy of the 1980s was largely made possible by the vicious leadership battles that divided the Liberal National coalilion. Mr Howard took over as party leader in 1985, lost an election in 1987 and survived a challenge, but was deposed in 1989.

But continuing instability in the party gave him his chance and in carly 1995 he was unanimously

when he unveiled the coalition's immigration policies last week. The issue has been a damaging one for him since 1988 when he said: "I "wouldn't like to see the rate of Asian

INTERNATIONAL NEWS 5

is bucking tradition,

HE NEW emir of the tiny Gulf state of Qatar, Sheikh Hamed bin Khalifa al Thani, is under pressure from other ruling for the control of the co pressure from other ruling families

whom he overthrew last summer.

emirate's financial reserves, which | Despite public warnings from the he refuses to hand back. Qatar is having difficulty paying its bills and tant gas deal with Israel, Other Gulf financing the huge investment re states want commercial ties with quired to develop its extensive gas | Israel put on hold until a compre-It is not only the content but the 1 Arab states.

style of Sheikh Hamed's rule that in the Gulf to "see the error of his ways" and fall into line with "tradipress, explaining his policies and ideas. He has also ended censorship by any Gulf state to the Big Brother

hensive peace treaty is agreed by all

Two months ago, Sheikh Hamed walked out in protest at the appointment of a Saudi national to head the regional Gulf Co-operation Council. and talks of allowing the election of role played by Saudi Arabia in the

sion. The interview coincided with an upsurge in unrest in Bahrain.

"This guy in Qatar is pushing it." a prominent Saudi official said. "It's not that we want to overthrow him - that would be too much - but we just want him to behave, and see the error of his ways."

The Gulf states now appear to be getting back at the young emir by favouring his father. Sheikh Khalifa, ensconced in Abu Dhabi's lavish Intercontinental Hotel, is still , treated as a head of state.

Qatari officials play down suggestions that the loss of financial reserves is affecting the economy.

Bank with Bristol & West International



Bristol & West International in Guernsey couldn't be better placed to help your £ Sterling investments work harder for you - no matter where in the world you might be.

We have a wide range of deposit accounts designed to offer flexibility and highly competitive rates, whilst enjoying the security of a building society-backed investment Indeed, our High Interest Cheque Account has consistently outperformed all the UK high street banks, and is the first account of its kind to be offered by a leading UK building society subsidiary.

and HOB'B ofthe world.

ME (MR/MRE/MISS	MB				8.
an farestal see being					
DRESS					
	.				
,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,				i	
					I
TCODE .		TELEPH	ONE		ļ

TIONALITY		DATEC	F BLRTH	1 3	1

ristol & West O Box 611, High Street, St. Peter Port, Channel Islands, GY1 4NY. Tel: 01481 720609. Suc 01481 711658

For the best of all worlds (and an attractive return on your investments), simply return our coupon today. Alternatively, call us on Guernsey (01481) 720609 or fax us on (01481) 711658 for full details on our range

BRISTOL & WEST



Bristol & West International Lid. Is a wholly owned subsidiery of the Bristol and West Building Society which is obliged by section 22 of the Building Societies Act 1986 to discharge its embeldieries' Rebilding in so far as it is smaller to discharge them out of its own sessis. Deposits made with offices of Bristol and West international Ltd. Is Guarnissy are not covered by the Deposit Protection Schame under The Banking Act 1987. Both the principal place of business and the Regiment Office for Bristol & West International Ltd. in PO Box 611, high Street, St. Page Port, Guernsay, Channel latends. GV1 4NV. Tel: 0168 1 720802 (during office hours), Fact 0 1481 71 1858. Funds will only be accepted at the principal office in Starling. We may elect not to open accounts until we are establed about the prophesed account holder, Licensed under the Banking Supervision (Ballance of Guernsoy) Law 1394, as amended. The paid up capital and reserves of Bristol & West International Ltd. are available on request international Ltd. are available on request international Ltd. are available on request international Ltd. in not a registered person in Jarsey under the Banking Business (Jersey) Law 1981.



The US this week

Martin Walker

ESPITE all the glum prediccompaign between Bill Clinton and | firm, despite the demands of the from nowhere to remind us that a prospect rather than a threat. Dole who is now in the White House who money still talks loudly in US poli- remains at least nominally the fronttics. Then the underfunded Pat runner, and Forbes has lots more winning the Alaska straw poll. An New Hampshire. As so often in the unimportant fluke, sniffed the pun- past, New Hampshire looks like dits. But Buchanan squashed Sena- being the decisive battle ground. tor Phil Gramm to win the Louisiana lowa has performed its traditional caucus, and the campaign headed off to Iowa with all bets off and the | Hampshire will sort out the pecking race wide open.

roroes to come in a convincing Ronald Reagan, won 13 of the 21 States back in 1971, "when they failed third with 18 per cent. The Forbes | Louisiana delegates, in an upset vic- to charge Jane Fonda with treason | be offered to American voters in a phenomenon fell back to score a tory over Gramm, the Texan senator and sedition and giving aid and commiserable 10 per cent of the vote, whose campaign was left struggling fort to the communist enemy in which had cost him nearly \$1,000 to survive in the wake of the Iowa North Vietnam". But Magri knows preferences for blacks and other mieach through his lavish TV ads. | caucus. A year ago, Gramm, in char- his politics. On the eve of the Iowa | norities, and outlawing abortion Gramm won only 9 per cent of the acteristically crude terms, observed caucus, he said Buchanan would get even in cases of rape or incest. "We vote, and must now be horribly that "the best friend to have in poli- "about 21 per cent of the vote" on the close to political oblivion. His camtics is ready money". He then had a basis of the informal polls run by the paign is broke, and he can hardly lot of it, and has since run through | Christian network. raise more money on the strength | almost \$20 million with very little to | of the humiliation in Iowa. can party establishment with his vic- date other conservatives to stay out

Buchanan stunned the Republitory in Louisiana, and his even more of the race. It helped stay the hand unexpected success in lowa, where of the moralist and Book Of Virtues after the Louisiana poll results. He anan's economics that would tear up But he enjoys huge name recognitions and the success in loward tear up and the enjoys huge name recognitions. ground that his get-out-the-vote Congressman Jack Kemp. phone banks were dialling long distance from his squads of volunteers in New Hampshire. (Forbes hired commercial firms to do his phoning.) Louisiana and Iowa have established Buchanan as the rightwing his last \$1.5 million, he decided to champion, and brought ideology, religion and the anti-abortion crusade back to the forefront of the Republican presidential race.

"This is a great victory for the aged his presidential hopes. new conservatism of the heart, a It is striking that Gramm has conservatism of faith, family and spent even more money than country," Buchanan declared, claiming he would be set to win the Re- for it. By the orthodox rules, Gramm | shire and in Iowa and all the other | and the left and the trade unions | \$3 million. publican nomination after carrying ran an impeccable campaign. He primary states, which will take new have not quite forgiven him. the rest of the South in the Super- built strong organisations, staffed by heart from their triumph in In the various Republican candi- Forbes last year was President Cont Tuesday primary on March 12. That professional staff and with backing Louisiana and good showing in dates debates, Buchanan is by far ton. The Democratic National Control of the Control is no longer as outlandish as it once from local party chieftains, in Iowa Iowa. might have sounded. Money has and New Hampshire, and in states begun to flow into the Buchanan like Florida and Louisiana with immy beliefs, praise the Lord, for I up by a bunch of boys one night ban districts in 20 states. They post camp at the rate of \$500,000 a day. portant early straw polls. All the or- have never been arrested but that down in the yacht basin," Buchanan trayed him as the only defender at the contraction of the c The White House can hardly reganising skills in politics are only as we find new converts to the cause in sneers. "The idle rich won't pay a Medicare, education and the environment of the cause in the strain its glee at the prospect of good as the candidate and message side those prison walls," Shanks dime in taxes if Steve Forbes has his ment, with the slogan "President" campaigning against Buchanan, they serve: Gramm has little charm said. "More than 70,000 of us have way." That is the kind of thing that Clinton: standing firm to protect.

The one worry for the White US Senate, Gramm was made to come because our cause is just." House is that Lamar Alexander's look the wimpish moderate in the campaign appears at last to be tak- Louisiana race.

native Tennessee, and was a good friend of Clinton when they were both go-ahead and none-too-ideological Southern governors in the 1980s. Clinton and Gore have always feared most a campaign against the likeable, non-extremist former governor of Tennessee.

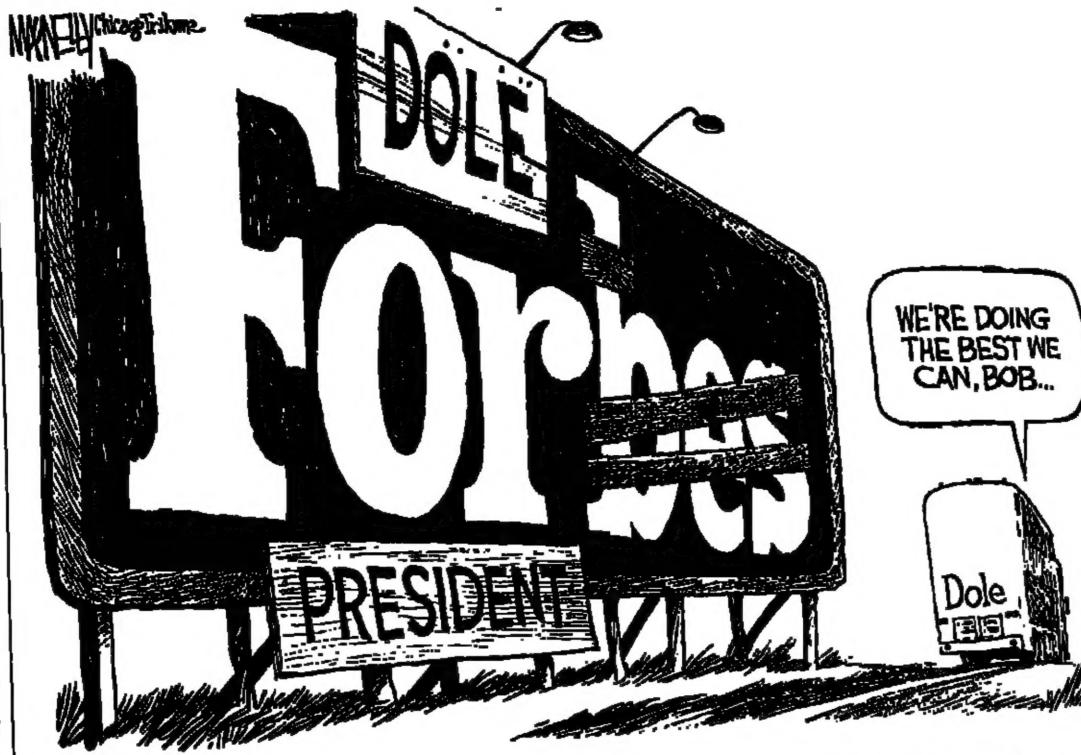
A great deal of "opposition research" has been done into Alexander's financial background, and some of his investments would make Hillary Clinton green with envy. She had to put down \$1,000 to make more than \$93,000 in cattle futures. Alexander invested just one dollar to get back nearly \$1 million from his flutter in local newspaper shares. We shall be hearing lots more of Alexander's winning financial ways, including the salary of tions of a tedious and pre- some \$300,000 a year he is still being paid by his Tennessee law

money to throw at the TV sets of job of winnowing the field. New order, and establish whether the reli-

show for it. Gramm used his war chest as a blunt weapon to intimi-

But last month Gramm began hotels and into cheaper rented apartments, where they have to share bedrooms. Down last week to throw it all into a TV ad blitz in Iowa, saying he had to come in the first three to stay in the race. His poor showing may have terminally dam-

most conservative members of the suffered, but we, too, shall over-



the New Covenant Fellowship, one which organised Louisiana to secure Buchanan's surprise victory.

Buchanan appeal and left the pulpit of or New Orleans cop and another of

God in our hearts," the Reverend of the religious right. Shanks told the Christian Broad-Hour, named after the founder of is to the British army.

However, Alexander is so far only Scripture against the Devil's man ers who identified themselves as ferent campaign, with the battle said the Reverend Bill Shanks, of Gramm, while "anti-abortion" voters went for Buchanan by a margin of Patriotic, and they make up a lot of of the fundamentalist churches 59:30. The only group of voters among whom Gramm had a major- Ohio and Pennsylvania. ity were the affluent, those with incomes of more than \$75,000 a year. adamant foes of abortion in Congress. But he voted to approve President Clinton's two nominees to the Supreme Court. Neither is hostile to

> generation, opposing all gay rights should in no circumstances take the innocent life of that baby. If there's killing to be done, let's kill the "God was with us. We went to the rapists," was one of the lines that polls with a hymn on our lips and won Buchanan the fervent support

Social conservatism is combined | started with little money, raising § casting radio network, on the day with a radical populism in Buch-million to the \$20 million of Grams was speaking on the Randall Terry all free-trade treaties and erect new tion from his 1992 challenge 2 protectionist walls around the United | President Bush and from his T Operation Rescue, the militant anti- | States' borders. On the Mexican bor- | shows. Buchanan's shoe-string care ordering campaign staff out of abortion campaign which seeks to der, Buchanan promises a real wall close abortion clinics through civil to stop illegal immigrants, 2,000 in the week after his success E disobedience, and which is to the miles long and manned by the US Alaska, and his new credibility and Buchanan campaign what the SAS | troops brought home from Bosnia. | Louisiana brought him new funds to In the unlikely event that Buchanan | challenge the TV ads of Dole at goes on to win the Republican nomi- Forbes on equal terms in No. HE Randall Terry Hour is nation, it will be fascinating to see Hampshire. one of the few public ele- how many working-class Democratic ments of the anti-abortion votes he can attract with his opposicommunications network, and is tion to the North American Free Forbes spent \$14 million in the dedicated and tireless in its support | Trade Agreement and to the Gatt for Buchanan. Shanks was rallying | world trade pact. Clinton split his | Dole and Gramm combined Forbes, but has much less to show the Christian zealots in New Hamp- party to get those treaties signed. Buchanan by contrast spent a men

the most effective debunker of mittee spent \$15 million on TV "I have been to prison 12 times for Forbes and the flat tax. "Dreamed directed solely at marginal substitutions of the solely constantly reminding voters just and has trouble in conveying his been arrested, which is more arrests | Clinton is planning to say if his people". Since these ads were how far to the right and how shrill message. One of the three or four than the civil rights movement ever prayers are granted and Forbes be run nationwide, this pro-Clinton and the civil rights movement ever prayers are granted and Forbes be run nationwide, this pro-Clinton and the civil rights movement ever prayers are granted and Forbes be run nationwide, this pro-Clinton and the civil rights movement ever prayers are granted and Forbes be run nationwide, this pro-Clinton and the civil rights movement ever prayers are granted and Forbes be run nationwide, this pro-Clinton and the civil rights movement ever prayers are granted and Forbes be run nationwide, this pro-Clinton and the civil rights movement ever prayers are granted and Forbes be run nationwide, this pro-Clinton and the civil rights movement ever prayers are granted and Forbes be run nationwide, this pro-Clinton and the civil rights movement ever prayers are granted and Forbes be run nationwide, this pro-Clinton and the civil rights movement ever prayers are granted and Forbes be run nationwide, this pro-Clinton and the civil rights movement ever prayers are granted and Forbes be run nationwide, this pro-Clinton and the civil rights movement ever prayers are granted and Forbes be run nationwide. comes the Republican nominee. campaign went almost unnoticed (George Stephanopoulos, the presi- may help explain why Clinton's applications of the control of Christian conservatives were the dent's political adviser, says he will proval ratings are above 55 per cent key to Buchanan's success in both simply take the summer off if Re the highest they have been since the ing off. He comes from Al Gore's We knew Pat could not lose, be states, and returned sufficient num- publicans pick Forbes as presiden- first year in office.

cause God is looking for a man who bers to influence higher than extial candidate.) But Buchanan as the will stand up for the truths of his pected turnouts. In Louisiana, vot nominee would prompt a very of the standard prompt a very of the standard prompt as very of the standard Buchanan's success in Louisian

GUARDIAN WEEKLY February 18 1998

propelled him into the front rank of Republican candidates with Dole 20

UTSIDERS usually have 6 be rich enough, like Ros aire Forbes, to win the celebrity ad

The campaign spending report three months of last year, more that

GUARDIAN WEEKLY February 18 1996

Muslim rebels hold key to fortune INTERNATIONAL NEWS

the island of Mindanao could lead the Philippines to prosperity, writes

Nick Cumming-Bruce in Camp Abubakre

ABBING at a blackboard cov-

ABBING at a blackboard covered in diagrams and arrows, "Commander Bond" belowed: "In any war, the best formation is information."

With that Mohammed Sabber, trained in Afghanistan but nicknamed after his British film hero.

Manual in Mindanao could ruin his economic legacy.

MNLF influence has waned about autonomy have dragged on without benefit to the welfare of a war-weary manual after his British film hero.

MILF has grown ble in Mindanao could ruin his economic legacy.

MNLF influence has waned about autonomy have dragged on without benefit to the welfare of a war-weary month of the 13 provinces and two or three cities, far short of the 13 provinces envisaged in the 1976 Tripoli agreement held up by the MILF as the blueprint for peace.

Mill with the rampant politicians, the endless MNLF demands for pay-offs and the arbitrary mill reveal and the MNLF demands for pay-offs and the arbitrary mill reveal and the MNLF demands for pay-offs and the arbitrary mill reveal and the MNLF demands for pay-offs and the arbitrary mill reveal and the MNLF demands for pay-offs and the arbitrary mill reveal and the MNLF demands for pay-offs and the arbitrary mill reveal and the MNLF demands for pay-offs and the arbitrary mill reveal and the MNLF demands for pay-offs and the arbitrary mill reveal and the MNLF demands for pay-offs and the arbitrary mill reveal and the MNLF demands for pay-offs and the arbitrary mill reveal and the MNLF demands for pay-offs and the arbitrary mill reveal and the MNLF demands for pay-offs and the arbitrary mill reveal and the MNLF demands for pay-offs and the arbitrary mill reveal and the MNLF demands for pay-offs and the arbitrary mill reveal and the MNLF demands for pay-offs and the arbitrary mill reveal and the MNLF demands for pay-offs and the mass sup-port. The civilian population is dissillation and the MNLF demands for pay-offs and the mass sup-port. The civilian population is dissillation and the monum for mill reveal and the mass sup-port. The civilian population is dissillation and the wound up a class on ambush tactics on the back of a Muslim militancy on the back of a Muslim militancy of how MILF lead
The question of how MILF lead
But a series of bloody strikes on to resort to armed struggle." for mojahedin at Camp Abubakre, the "military academy" of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front on the

The two-storey wooden building which doubles as classroom and dormitory is situated in wellforested hills two hours trek from the nearest road. A network of villages makes up the MILF headquarters, the nerve centre for a rebel army of Muslim zealots demanding an autonomous Islamic state. The MILF is a potent threat to Manila's control of an island of lavish natural resources and endemic violence.

The MILE's claim to have built up an army of 180,000 men may be pure fantasy. But the government forces' estimate of 7,000 to 10,000 alto the MILE's must be and no capaci ity to destabilise an island central to President Fidel Ramos's ambitions for the Philippines.

Christian-dominated Mindanaon cities like Cagayan de Oro in the north and the tuna-fishing centre of General Santos in the south-east are riding a boom. Their success has raised awareness of how the island can help the Philippines to emulate its more prosperous neighbours Malaysia and Indonesia.

But Mindanao's prospects rest on finding the peace that has eluded the southern Muslim heartlands round Cotabato. Feudal clans nurse memories of the independent sultanate that was annexed by Manila in 1938, and decades of conflict have left a legacy of poverty.

To meet the threat from the MILF and more militant splinter groups, Manila has committed more than half its army to Mindanao. But its attempts to deploy reinforcements in MILF-controlled areas last year provoked counter-moves by the MILF which increased the tension.

More than 70,000 people died in the war between the Manila government and Muslim separatists then led by the Moro National Liberation Front - in the early 1970s. A raid on the small town of Ipil last year, in which gunmen killed 47 people, looted six banks and burned down the town centre, provided a vivid reminder of how violence can flare in Mindanao.

Twenty years after the agreement ending the war was signed in Tripoli, Manila and the MNLF seem closer than ever to a deal. They will start a new round of talks in early March. But the MNLF no longer commands the support it did in the 1970s: young Muslims have turned to the more militant MILF.

If the talks go well in March, MNLF leaders say, they could move to Jakarta and a formal peace treaty could be signed, with the blessing of the Organisation of Islamic Countries by the end of the year.

The MNLF's timetable looks optimistic, given the slight progress generation and is supported by a Manila-MNLF

Philippines on the road to Asian tiger status, is aware that any trouble in Mindanao could ruin his eco
out between Manila and the MNLF

supordinates can end, as one did last week, in fatal gunfights.

The territorial formula thrashed out between Manila and the MNLF

bato, the MILF

achieved in talks in December, but militant Islamic organisations over-

General Ramos, working for a MILF leaders maintain a loose co- government For the moment MNLF and tary leaders. The place in history as the president who set a battered and demoralised subordinates can end, as one did numerous and bet-

MINDANAG Abuhakre

we can't agree, there is no way but



"I make the money. Robeco Bank makes it work that little bit harder."

A Personal Investment Account with Robeco Bank is the simplest and most cost effective way to take advantage of the proven investment products of the Robeco Group, Europe's leading investment house.

Access to global investment management For over 60 years, the Robeco Group, now with assets in excess of \$40 billion, has given the international investor easy entry to the world's equity, bond, property and money markets.

The flagship equity investment company, Robeco NV, is often the standard against which other investment managers. are measured. It has an average return in US\$ of 12.3% over the last 10 years.

Telephone: daytime/evening (Delete as appropriate) Country Code

The service that reflects your own values

A Personal Investment Account with Robeco Bank gives you unique and regular access to the investment information of the Robeco Group and to a simple, focused range of products aimed at long-term performance. 'Isn't it time you opened one, too?'

To open an account with Robeco Bank, fill in the coupon. Or call us in Luxembourg on (352) 446 44 41; or Geneva on (41) 22-939 01 39; or fax us.

POBECO BANK LYBECTHE SYPTEEL	ND.

The Manager, Robeco Bank (Luxembourg) S.A., 3 rue Thomas Edison	, L-1445 Luxembourg. Fax: (35	2) 44 58 66.	the desire on the desire.
The Manager, Robeco Bank (Suisse) S.A., 16 chemin des Coquelicots, (15, Switzerland	i. Past (41) 22-341 13 92.
I would like to open a Personal Investment Account. Please send me	an account-opening package.		C QW B 07 96
Please send me more information about managed investments from		1	The state of the boundaries of the
English 🗆 German 🗆 Dutch 🗀 French 🗆	Tick appropriate box	garaga ($\label{eq:condition} (-1) \mathcal{L}^{-1}(\mathbf{r}) = -4 \operatorname{cond}(\mathbf{r}) \mathcal{L}^{-1}(\mathbf{r}) \mathcal{L}^{-1}(\mathbf{r}) \mathcal{L}^{-1}(\mathbf{r})$
/Mrs/Miss/Ms (Delete as appropriate) Surname and initials			Year of Birth
ofession	u u		[10] J. Garrison, M. H. S. W. Garrison, Phys. Lett. B 50, 120 (1997); Applied to the control of the control
and the second of the second of the second of the second of	Court	and the state of	and the second second second second

Heseltine's pay slip puts Government in the red

rassed the Government, and outraged Opposition MPs and business leaders when he told a private dinner party that, as a small business, man in the past, he had been "quite skilful at stringing along creditors" by delaying his payment of bills.

It sounded engagingly truthful, and he insisted that the creditors of his publishing firm did, eventually, get paid. But the Government has been urging firms to pay their bills more promptly, and is even considering legislation to give them a statutory right to demand interest on late payments. In the meantime, the National Audit Office is investigating the Government's own bad ters rejecting advice which they

Britain in 1990, when the average payment period rose to 60 days (invoices commonly stipulate 30). With the recovery from recession, this has improved to an average 48 days. The Prime Minister, John Major. told the Commons that "the Government, and not least Michael Heselencourage prompt payment". But figures revealed that, when the Department of Trade and Industry was headed by Mr Heseltine, 16 per cent | consider whether life-sentence mur-

ICHAEL HESELTINE, the declare a free stay at the Ritz hotel in Paris, where he ran up a bill of more than £4,500. The hotel belongs to Mohamed Al-Fayed, the owner of Harrods, from whom Mr Hamilton is also claimed to have actions in the Commons. committee has yet to rule on this.

The MP took out a libel action against the Guardian over its reporting of these allegations, but the action was halted last year because was held to conflict with rules on parliamentary privilege.

■ N ANOTHER example of minisrecord of paying private firms' bills. have sought from experts, the seems set to turn down the Parole Board's recommendation that "Moors murderer" Myra Hindley should be moved to an open prison.

Ms Hindley, now aged 54, is serving a life sentence for child killings security prison in Durham. A former Home Secretary, Lord Waddington, ruled in 1990 that she should spend the rest of her life behind bars.

Mr Howard asked the board to Bellos.



Singing in the rain . . . Clergymen, including John Bickersteth (right), former Bishop of Bath and Wells, There was serious concern in Home Secretary, Michael Howard, lead a service against the Newbury bypass as work continues in the background

Peace goes on the march

A BOUT 5,000 people / marched along part of the route of the proposed Newbury bypass in what environmentalists claim was the largest single demonstration against roadbuilding in Britain, writes Alex

Friends of the Earth said: "It was a huge success. The crosssection of people was incredible. There were locals and nonlocals, and people of all ages." A religious service in a field cleared to make way for the road was followed by a short walk to

the tent where protesters were admiring their most recent "moral victories" - two of the three security guards who had defected to the camp after allegedly seeing a guard attack one of the protesters.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY February 18 1996

The protest was predicted to reach a flashpoint this week as bailiffs were due to evict people living in treehouses on the route.

JUSTICO

arer outpreak of indignation about of the danger of press intrusion. "fat cat" salaries - once again involving the chief executive of British Gas, Cedric Brown.

emerged that Mr Brown had been | poll rating generally, they have alawarded a 75 per cent pay rise to | ways been ahead of rival parties on £475,000 a year. He will retire in this aspect of policy until, two years into two companies, but will leave points. Thanks to falling crime figwith another lavish payment

customer complaints and huge losses on gas contracts, agreed to give him a leaving package of pension and other perks which could thought that Labour's shadow If they could not, they would be re- appear to correspond to demands

Labour leader Tony Blair asked | was right to send her son to a selecthe Prime Minister whether the tive grammar school even though | civil service union, said: "Scenting package was justified in the light of her party is opposed to selective ed- election defeat, the Tories are oper- Waldegrave, the Chief Secretary to Mr Major, was a matter for the the same respondents thought shareholders.

EIL HAMILTON, who was forced to resign as corporate affairs minister in 1994, at the height of a row about Tory sleaze, this week found himself facing new allegations — that he failed to declare thousands of pounds worth of free hospitality from US Tobacco. It is claimed that in the late 1980s he accepted free accommodation at hotels in London and New York while he was helping the company to try to overturn a proposed ban on one of its products, Skoal Bandits, a chewing tobacco linked with cancer. The allegations are to be submitted to the parliamentary ombudsman, Sir

Gordon Downey, for investigation. Mr Hamilton, who this week failed in his bid for the leadership of the Thatcherite 92 Group of Tory backbenchers, was recently criticised by the Commons committee

Concern about boardroom ex- the Tories to be seen as "tough" ures, however, that lead has been BG, faced with a doubled level of whittled down to just one point.

But polls can produce paradoxical results. Most (50 per cent) respondents to a Guardian/ICM poll | prove their entitlement to benefits. health minister, Harriet Harman, fused money. Labour politicians in general should not send their children to selective

Austin

ici case, it only because

HE cost of running Britain's be slashed by at least a quar- | years. TIS ELECTORALLY important to | ter in the most draconian cuts processes began 15 months ago when it on law and order. However low their services, it emerged last week. gramme seen in the nation's public Tens of thousands of jobs are at risk and there will be fundamental

April, when British Gas splits itself ago, Labour seized a lead of 14 and receive welfare benefits, largely unchanged since the start of the Paris. welfare state.

Jim Boyd, a leader of the biggest

ucation. But most (75 per cent) of ating a scorched earth policy the Treasury, Mr Lilley said: "Your against the poor and vulnerable people they have failed to help." The plan to strip a minimum of 25

a letter to staff from Ann Botwell, | we would be cutting off our noses to the department's permanent secretary. She says the cuts must be social security system is to made over the next two to three

The letter was made public 24 hours after Kenneth Clarke, the Chancellor, made a strong defence of the welfare state and warned that sudden "reforms" coud trigger social disruption of the kind seen recently in riots on the streets of

In a lecture, Peter Lilley, the So-One plan said to be under consid- | cial Security Secretary, said that he eration is a system whereby the was pursuing a gradual programme onus would pass to claimants to of sector-by-sector reforms.

made by the Treasury in last autumn's spending round. In leaked proposed settlement on running costs fills me with despair. The impact on operations will be devasper cent from the Department of So- tating . . . Quite apart from the cial Security's running costs budget, political fall-out as service becomes

It seems that Mr Lilley merely bought time in his negotiations with the Treasury. The cuts programme is expected to deliver relatively few savings next year, 1996/97, but to accelerate sharply thereafter.

Union leaders believe the department's computer systems, already substantially contracted out, will be completely privatised.

They also expect large-scale redundancies among the department's 88,000 staff and a shift to self-assessment by benefit claimants along lines being implemented for taxpayers by the Inland Revenue. The unions claim that they have seen documents suggesting benefit be withheld from any

Mr Boyd, social security group president of the Public Services, Tax and Commerce Union, sald: "The Government wants to treat all claimants like 'bogus' asylum seekcurrently £3.25 billion, has come in | more chaotic, I am convinced that | ment, you will be written off." ers: if you cannot prove your entitle-

on which Western civilisation has

been built, which is that some peo-

But disc jockey John Peel said:

"Saying Schubert is better than Blur

is like saying Tuesday is better than

a piece of string. They are entirely

ple are more gifted than others."

(RATHERASK, WHAT CAN YOU Classic quibble over cultural relativism

CHOOLCHILDREN should be were "no differences in value be is no distinction between Jeffrey Staught the superiority of Schu- tween, say, Schubert's Ave Maria Archer and Shakespeare, you have bert over their more likely choice of and the latest Blur release, between destroyed a whole set of principles ment's chief curriculum adviser said last week, writes Barbie Dutter.

The dead sheep sculpture by their time studying Jane Austen and Turner Prize winner Damien Hirst | Shakespeare or listening to Bach was a further example of a prevailing "cultural relativism" which failed is that [educators] should give to recognise enduring artistic val- these things their proper value as ues, said Nick Tate, the chief executhe best that has been known." tive of the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority.

The dominant view, he told a con- the rise of relativism, endorsed Dr

Milton and Mills and Boon".

He went on: "I am not suggesting that young people should spend all Richard Hoggart, whose book, The Way We Live Now, describes

Jean Aitchison, the Rupert Murdoch Professor of Language at Oxford University, said; "If you tell ference in London, was that there Tate's comments. "If you say there they will decide it's marvellous" children that Mills and Boon is bad,

GUARDIAN WEEKLY February 18 1996

Hereditary peers 'to lose Lords vote'

Patrick Wintour

hereditary peerage system.

Saying British democracy could not the first time backed elected may
the ment in which Tory voting fodder held seats not by merit, but because | Labour would reform the Lords by a 300-year-old ancestor might have been "the mistress of a monarch".

Making a wide-ranging speech to popularise Labour's sweeping pro-gramme of constitutional reform, the party leader also for the first | their titles, Labour officials said. time raised the prospect of Labour's proposed elected chamber containing some appointed peers of high tution", Mr Blair argued.

on asylum seekers from three more

countries by extending the official

"white list" to include Ethiopia,

The disclosure that the Home

Office wants to extend the current

seven-strong white list of "safe coun-

tries" is contained in a leaked

"restricted" internal Foreign Office

More than 3 125 Asylum annling

countries last year. But only 55

applicants were given asylum or

The document also shows that the

Foreign Office did not give its imme-

diate backing to the inclusion of

India and Pakistan on the original list

in the Commons last November.

announced by the Home Secretary

The inclusion of a particular

country in the white list means that

asylum claims from its citizens are,

according to the document, "likely

to be refused". It makes clear that

the key criterion for a country to be

included in the white list is not its

human rights record but the volume

of asylum claims it generates and

the rate at which the Home Office

Anmesty's refugee officer, Richard

Dunstan, said: 'This shows the

Home Office has a clear intention to

expand the white list once the cur-

rent asylum bill is on the statute book

to include countries where there are

The inclusion of Kenya will cause

particular concern. Last year

Baroness Chalker, as overseas aid

minister, said there were "still

grounds for concern" about the Moi

• The Social Security Secretary,

Peter Lilley, last week fought off the

threat of a High Court ban on his

decision to deprive asylum seekers

Mr Justice Brooke refused to

grant an application by the Joint

Council for the Welfare of Immi-

grants to restore asylum seekers' benefits until a legal challenge to

the Government's controversial ac-

The judicial review will take place

at the beginning of April at the earli-

est, when the High Court will also

rule on two similar legal challenges

by Westminster, and Hammersmith

and Fulham councils, in London.

tion is settled by the High Court.

of welfare benefits.

serious human rights concerns.

refuses them.

exceptional leave to remain.

Kenya and Tanzania.

guidance document.

He again refused personally to surd that people should wield power endorse proportional representation on the basis of birth, not merit or for Scutland and Wales, saying ONY BLAIR last week launched a stinging attack on the operation with the Liberal over 300 official Tory hereditary different histories". The Welsh

> removing the right of hereditary peers to vote, before moving, at an unfixed date, to establish an elected second chamber of parliament. They would be allowed to keep

Labour or the Liberal Democrats.

politically biased." Giving the first John Smith memorial lecture. Mr Blair conin many areas.

pear, but if they did we could be | legislation. Scotland on the other Mr Blair said as a first step sure very few would side with hand had once had its own parlia-

ment for hundreds of years. This is plainly and incontrovertibly In a counterattack, the Conservative chairman Brian Mawhinney, to the delight of Labour, defended the hereditary principle, arguing that ceded that elected mayors would be controversial within the party, but labour's plans threatened the stability of the country. "It is quite simply Hereditary peers were the "least defensible part of the British constitute "dangerous loss of civic pride" | the politics of class-driven envy," Dr Mawhinney said.

"It is in principle wrong and ab- He defended Labour's plan to secretary, replied that nothing ready begun."

UK NEWS 9

"could illustrate more clearly the Tories' defence of a tiny elite than Mr Mawhinney's support for the right of aristocrats to vote through laws for the rest of us because they were born into the right families".

On Sunday Mr Blair turned on his party for its "alarming and chilling complacency" in assuming a Labour victory at the next general election was in the bag. In his strongest condemnation yet of apparent over-confidence among Labour members and supporters, he told a party conference in Birmingham: "No one owes us power just because we have been in opposition for 17 years."

He warned that the electorate must not be taken for granted. "Victory will not come unaided . . . It is going to be the longest, toughest Robin Cook, the shadow foreign | campaign of our lives and it has al-

discon.

a discount and

Longer 'white Individual healthcare cover list' tightens asylum rules from around £10*a week. A / ICHAEL HOWARD, the Home VI Secretary, is to shut the door

Take a look at the average medical costs for these common ailments and then tell us you can't afford PPP

£500,000 annual cover for around £10* a week

And provide the peace \$10* a week we'll cover you for are living, working or travelling in a country where medical facilities may be inadequate and private medical treatment prohibitively expensive.

PPP healthcare is one of the UK's leading medical insurance companies with over 2 million members.

PPP healthcare specialises in quality medical insurance for people working or living overseas. Its International Health Plan offers a wide range of options for different needs and budgets, with annual cover up to £1,000,000.

For immediate cover call anytime day or night.

44 (0) 1323 432002

and ask for extension 6541



PPP healthcare, Phillips house, Crescent Road, Tunbridge Wells, Kent, TNI 2PL. England. Or fax to 44 (0) 1892 503189.

**************** YESI I would like to know more about the international Health Plan

from PPP healthcare. Please send me further details. TITLE: Mr I Mrs I Miss I Ms I Dr I Other SURNAME:

FORENAME: DATE OF BIRTH European Health Plan from PPP healthcare is specifically designed for expatriates. Non- experience may apply subject to any applicable governing laws or exchange control regulations

Removal of impacted trisdom teeth TALY: \$256.18 Removal of Cataract Removal of Ocarion cyst AUSTRIA: £8,788.41 Inguinal hernia FRANCE: 52,114.24 Knes replacement SVEDEN: £3,008.34

•	*Based on Standard Option. Area 2: Worldwide excluding US *Source. This information is based on the average costs paid international Health Plan between 1/1/94 and 31/1/194 for painternational Health Plan between 1/1/94 and 31/1/194 for painternational Health Plan between 1/1/194 and 31/1/194 for painternational Health Plan between convened into pounds significantly at the time the The exchange rates used were those prevailing at the time the **This plan is not available in Cyprus.	on for the burbose of consistency.

	· <u>· · </u>	
DDRESS:		•
COUNTRY:		
1. I	:	
TEL NO:	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	
FAX NO	5 h 25 - 50	
CURRENT SCHEME:	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	

Service of the servic

Whitehall fears its conscience

MARK OF Whitehall's des- ficials, and government lawyers peration as it awaits this which could have led to three forweek's excoriating report on mer directors of the Matrix utterly trivial and insidious nature of | wrongly imprisoned, and whether some aspects of its campaign against the author. Sir Richard Scott cycles to work; that shows how to Iraq. eccentric, how puritanical, how over-virtuous he is, his detractors

of irritation and bemusement. His by the way the Matrix Churchill practice of cycling to work is en- prosecution was handled. He is tirely pragmatic, he explains. You likely to recommend that never don't have to travel in the Under again in criminal cases should minground, "to stand like yeal calves in isters be allowed to sign Public Ina crate". You don't have to wait terest immunity certificates Court judge, Leonard Hoffmann, whether they were relevant to the and the High Court judge, Stephen | defence.

characteristics - pragmatism and whether he believes MPs were depainted a picture of a judge suffer- offence which John Major has said ing from delusions of grandeur, of a is a resigning matter. cavalier disregard for traditional procedures. That is completely to mis- has upset the Whitehall establishunderstand the man. Sir Richard is | ment. In 1987, he roundly dismissed

he conducted the inquiry - no ety," he said. tably by Lord Howe and Douglas Hurd, two former foreign secre hall officials might not wish to be reand wrong". He will deal with criti- proach are the same. clams of the inquiry in his report.

What Howe and others are con- Richard, a judge with a reputation cerned about, of course, is Sir for rigorous independence, to con-

Geoffrey Robertson

report should be used to

, argues that the Scott

prise open Whitehall

Parliament was misled over the Government's policy on arms sales

Sir Richard will not anticipate his findings before his 1,800-page report is published on Thursday. But so-called gagging orders - in the blanket way they did in the Matrix

has liberately misled by ministers, an

It is not the first time Sir Richard

or the bulwarks of our democratic soci-

ORD JUSTICE SCOTT is now embargo on arms-related sales to sale policy towards Iraq — even

Leing subjected to the very same Iran and Iraq, were an exercise in though, in these late Thatcher years,

It is a judgment anxious Whitetaries who have been speaking on minded about. The context is behalf of civil servants as much as | different, but the themes of secrecy, Tory ministers — as "misguided of the government-knows-best ap-

number of ministers and civil serwho cycle to their chambers — the bother to read the documents they decision. One view is that Lord excelled both academically and at of Sir Richard's sharp interventions law lord, Lord Woolf, the Appeal attempted to suppress to see Mackay, the Lord Chancellor, was sport, including boxing, sprinting at the inquiry. He once rebuked so concerned about the charges lev- and rugby. elled against government lawyers Sir Richard is also likely to con- during the Matrix Churchill arms-Cycling could be a symbol of two | clude that Parliament was consis- | to-lraq trial - whose collapse in No- | Commonwealth scholarship to of Sir Richard's most striking tently misled. The key question is vember 1992 led to the setting up of

those temptations are deterred, by | four ministers, I was allowed to read

both exposure and by public con- some 500 pages of this material in

What the Scott report will detail the Matrix Churchill trial, I was

is a systems failure in modern West-struck by one irony. Every level of

minster democracy. The "Howe government had contrived to avoid

Guidelines" of 1985, declaring an debate over the changes in arms-

of the problem. no iconoclast. He simply questions | the Government's attempts to pre- | youd that point I don't." A judge was | nearby university and an accoun-

democratic and was picked.

IR RICHARD Rashleigh Folliott Scott was born 61 years ago in Dehra Dun, in the steps to be taken to monitor the lack was a colonel in the 2/9th Gurkha issues: the conduct of ministers, of- has been asked repeatedly over the South Africa, to a 500-acre farm on arms-to-iraq inquiry. Time to stop the rot in the body politic

cated at Michaelhouse, modelled on an English public school. There he Town University and in 1955 won a

Cambridge, where he was awarded the Scott inquiry — that he was de- first class honours. He also won a termined to recommend a judge | rugby blue as a wing forward in the who would fearlessly go to the heart | 1957 varsity match against Oxford. Sir Richard then won a fellowship

Asked, as he always is, why he to Chicago University. There he met was chosen for the task, Sir Richard his wife, Rima Ripoll, a New Yorksays: "Up to a point I know, but be- born Panamanian studying at a arvoived, "I had to earn my living," he says.

He had no "great life plan", and describes his early life as an example of the "theory of drift" He was elected chairman of the

foothills of the Himalayas where his of advancement of black barristers. father, an accomplished horseman, The following year, he was ap-Rifles. Sir Richard spent his early was admired — especially on the Whitehall's conscience for many pointed a Chancery judge where he Why John Major appointed Sir years on the North West frontier in northern circuit — for his straightthe twilight of the Raj before his fa- talking. It is a quality he admires in Richard's conclusions on two key duct the inquiry is a question that army in 1942. His parents moved to from most of the witnesses at the

My abiding impression from the

Matrix Churchill documents was

aware they might be made public.

order to defend Paul Henderson in that these deplorable decisions

vant alike, blinding them to their | ing misleading letters to MPs, but obligations of honesty to Parliament | was frightened by official secrecy laws. Both Thatcher and Major have opposed these reforms by claiming they would undermine ministerial

Sir Richard, meanwhile, has fin-

years. It was based on evidence

which slowly emerged from 200,000

pages of official documents. It was

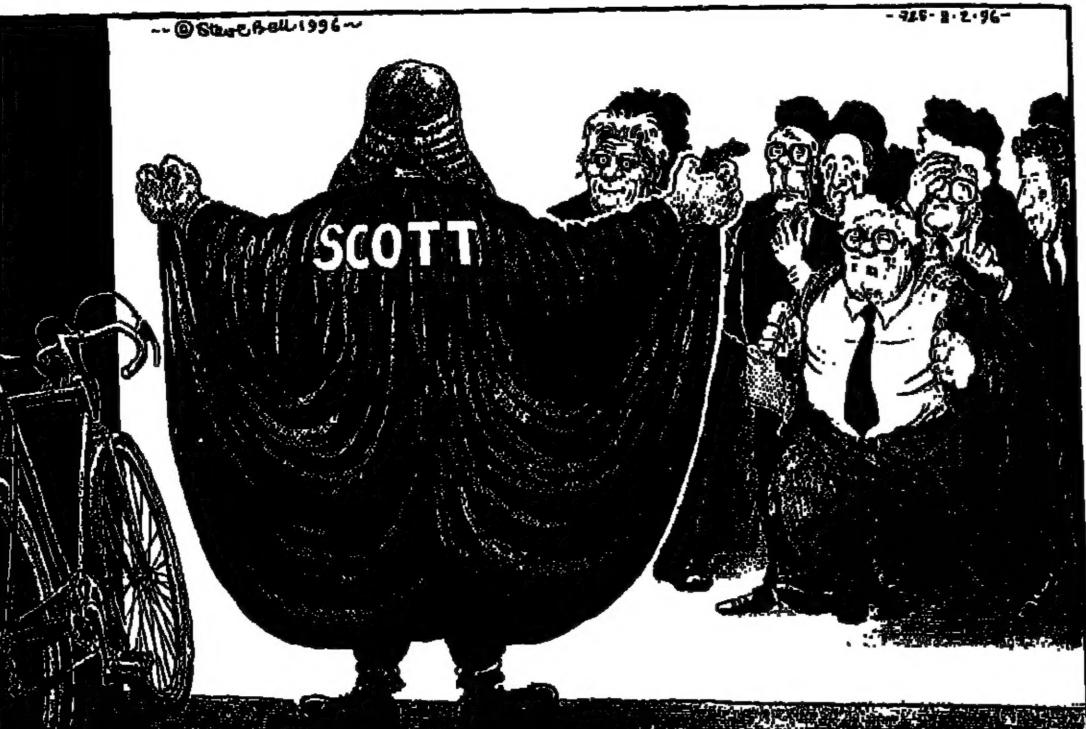
"like preling an onion", he said. The

result is certain to lead to tears.

posed by Lord Woolf.

would never have been taken had accountability to Parliament. those responsible for them been The Scott report will demonstrate, beyond reasonable doubt, that process which produced the armsmoral superiority. They soon bethe supporters of arms sales would
Whitehall, to refute an argument
tions. What Scott will refute for ever ministerial accountability to Parlia-And that, I still think, is the only to-frag scandal in the first place: a came unworkable, and were gradulate the state of the state culture within government which ally abandoned in the "filt to Iraq" Yet only one minister — the morally insolved the line of requires inconvenient truths to be years leading up to Saddam Husinsouciant Alan Clark — voiced the more presentational difficulties if ries Yes, Minister that "open." requires inconvenient truths to be distorted or suppressed for the better avoidance of what Whitehall Scott will ask, were these politically insorted that the changes might be an accommodate that the changes might be accommodated to remedy it prescribes for this disease so fervently that Parliament and the what we like to describe as the devolved may still be in a position of open government is good government is good government is good government. The reason for this perversion of ing the decision while those in- will prove, on the contrary, that mocratic process could be located power. That means, at very least, a ment, and that freedom of informa-One positive feature of Whitehall in the Matrix Churchill documents | Freedom of Information Act ensurements | Freedom long term, who gets Scott's brickis its internal recording traditions, in one phrase which was repeated ing that documents of ministerialbats or bouquets: public office will and a paper-trail of memoranda evias an excuse to avoid doing or saylevel meetings are released within stood, but are better decisions. always attract politicians prone to dences the intellectual contortions ing the right thing: "presentational five years (under the present law, at -always attract politicians prone to dences the intersection contornous hypocrisy, just as the public service — and very occasional moral ago-difficulties. This all-purpose euleast 30 years must elapse). With Geoffrey Robertson QC defended decisions are not only better under-

What matters is to have in place a them described as "the dirty wash-cal embarrassment had become the locations of locatio What matters is to have in place a | mem described as "the dirty wash- | call embarrassment had become the place a | mem described as "the dirty wash- | call embarrassment had become the place a | mem described as "the dirty wash- | call embarrassment had become the place a | mem described as "the dirty wash- | call embarrassment had become the place a | mem described as "the dirty wash- | call embarrassment had become the place a | mem described as "the dirty wash- | call embarrassment had become the place a | mem described as "the dirty wash- | call embarrassment had become the place a | mem described as "the dirty wash- | call embarrassment had become the place and public ser- | had moral scruples about compos- | The individual And The Law | the place of the



as anything which prompted some Whitehall lawyers for giving "junk" He went on to read law at Cape | advice, a comment which prompted the Treasury Solicitor, that "as a

On another occasion, Sir Richard told a hapless Ministry of Defence official that "they don't make lavatory seats in a munitions factory

that he had been "aggressive". Sir Portillo, vowed to continue to His rise up the judicial ladder led to his appointment first to the Court forces, Stonewall, the gay of Appeal and, in 1994, to the post of Vice-Chancellor, head of the high evidence to the Select Com-Court Chancery division. Last mittee on the Armed Forces, month, Lord Mackay appointed him to oversee radical changes in the the ban repealed. civil justice system, designed to make it quicker and cheaper, pro-

HE NEPALESE boy brought to Britain by a businessman who treated him as his son and made him heir to his £2.5 million fortune should be allowed to etay, an immigration tribunal ruled. But the recommendation carries no legal force and the Home Secretary la free to send

EW SECURITY measures have been introduced by the BBC to protect its computer system from hackers, following claims that political parties have obtained advance details of the running orders for news bulletins.

HE PRIVATE company which had been selected to run the London, Tilbury and Southend railway line has lost its franchise following allegations of ticket fraud.

HE managing director of an outdoor activities centre iailed for manslaughter after the Lyme Bay canocing tragedy has been freed by the Court of Appeal.

OGER OMOND, the Guardian journalist who charted his battle against cancer paper, has died at the age of 51. more modern organisation."

GUARDIAN WEEKLY February 18 1996

In Brief

▲ BILL designed to sweep A away the 700-year-old "year and a day rule", governing the time limit for manslaughter and murder charges, sped through its Commons stages with no opposition in under two minutes.

OVERNMENT embarrassment at the failure of more than half the nation's 11-yearolds to reach the expected standard in maths was compounded when it emerged that officials got the sums wrong by double counting tens of thousands of children who did not make the grade in their written tests.

ORE THAN 100,000 lives could be saved worldwide each year, including 1,000 in the UK, if all asthma patients received modern therapies, sai Romain Pauwels, chairman of the Global Initiative for Asthma.

RESCRIPTION charges are to rise by 25p, provoking enewed protests from doctors and consumer groups that the charges are a tax on the sick.

RA ORE THAN 50 universities VI and colleges have merged or are holding merger talks as financial pressures threaten to drive some institutions to the wall.

Defence Secretary, that the ban homosexuals in the armed pressure group, submitted new spearheading its campaign to get

the boy back to Nepal.

Council staff are furious that the cuts have come despite their own

Pay award to be phased in

Michael White

lion package of pay awards for hovering around 3.5 per cent, just lion package of pay awards for hovering around 3.5 per cent, just teachers, doctors, judges and the above inflation. Both are set to rise, MPs they crossed their fingers in N military — but insisted that it be paid in two phases to meet Treasury fears of renewed inflation.

After a lengthy discussion in bribe". Cabinet, the Chancellor, Kenneth Clarke, emerged triumphant, with £150 million worth of the pay settlements due on April 1 held back until ments due on April 1 held back until so-called efficiency savings, local auvoters' pockets. December. At an average of 4 per | thorities and union leaders pre-

denounced "an obvious pre-election While ministers stressed the "af-

The Government's declared aim after getting only a 2 per cent na-in phasing the award is to discourtional award, to be topped up with age a knock-on effect elsewhere in local deals. And teaching unions preated public sector unions the public sector and in private in- dicted sackings and larger classes. dustry, where pay settlements are Whitehall believes such talk

> Tory rightwingers said privately, as Labour and the Liberal Democrats will help boost the elusive "feelgood factor" closer to the likely gen-eral election in April or May 1997

two-stage phasing. Doctors and den tists will get between 3.8 and 6.8 per cent, teachers 3.75 per cent, the armed forces 3.7 to 4.3 per cent (3.9

UK NEWS

to 5.6 per cent for higher ranks), and judges 3.9 per cent. But each group will have 1 per cent held back until December, at a cost this year of £735 million against £884 million in a full Ministers have announced /

sweeping inquiry into the pay, penmost comprehensive since the sec ond world war - in response to the when lower taxes, building society mass call by backbenchers for their salaries to be referred to the Nolan committee on standards in public life

The Prime Minister's Office indicent, they are above inflation, "a dicted cuts in services and job fered by the five pay review body rethe Senior Salaries Review Body, marked step-up" compared with last losses. Nurses would quit the NHS ports accepted by the cabinet, nurses | chaired by Sir Michael Perry, is exin droves, union leaders predicted, come off worse, but will not suffer pected to be completed by June.

British Council' offices axed

☐ IGHT British Council offices abroad are to close because of go as managers ponder axing hundreds of British-based jobs and selling premises.

The eight offices - in Algeria, Yemen and unspecified countries in Africa and Latin America - are to go at once, it emerged last week. But up to 20 of the council's 109 overseas operations could close.

Up to 500 of the 1,300 jobs based n Britain are under threat. The The council focuses on teaching English as well as arranging academic and cultural exchanges. Supporters say its work creates British ambience that is of unquan-

tifiable value for trade. Its chairman, Sir Martin Jacomb, was given no good news when he met the Prime Minister to discuss the crisis last week. The council has to reduce spending by £21.5 million - 17 per cent - while the Foreign Office and Overseas Development Administration have lost only about 6 per cent of their budgets.

"We only have one realistic option for dealing with (the cut): a major reduction in staffing," a council official said. "And if we can't function with reduced UK staff we then may have to close other posts abroad."

Candidates for immediate closure are offices in countries where there are security problems, little demand, or stiff competition, especially in Francophone regions. Expanding areas, such as the former Soviet Union and the fast-growing economies of Asia and the Pacific Rim, are to be spared.

The council is seen as the poor relation of the BBC World Service, also funded by the Foreign Office. The World Service has this great image because everyone knows what they do," said one Whitehall insider. The British Council doesn't have enough PR oomph."

recent sacrifices and the praise heaped on them at last year's Britain in the World conference.

Peter Daly, secretary of the council's trade union, said: "We relocated 650 jobs to Manchester in 1992. We've got rid of about 300 jobs by voluntary retirement. We feel we've done our bit to get a leaner and

Bradford & Bingley Island Accounts

up to 7.15% gross p.a. Island 2 Year Bond up to 6.90% gross p.a. Island 1 Year Bond up to 6.70% gross p.a. Island Notice 60 days up to 6.60% gross p.a. Island, Access

Daposit your money in one of our to receive interest monthly or annually -

the leland as a treasure. Not only will you of the backing of Bradford & Bingley benefit from extremely good rates on all Building Society, the UK's fifth largest, with essets in excess of 214.5 billion. So if

Name: (Mr /Mrs/Wis)

ref: GWI or alternatively fill in the coupon. Telephone: +44 1624 661868 Fax: +44 1624 661962

To: Mr Chris Lees, Client Relations Manager, Bradford & Bingley (Isle of Man) Limited, 30 Ridgeway Street, Douglas, Isle of Man, 1M1 1TA, British Islae, Please send me full details of the Island range of accounts.

BRADFORD & BINGLEY

REGISTERED OFFICE AND PROCESS OF BUSINESS SO REDOCKAY STREET, COLUMNS RELEGY HAVE THE VIEW OF MEN AND PROCESS OF BUSINESS SO RECESS OF BUILDING WITH THE WARRENGT OF BUSINESS SO RECESS OF BUILDING WITH THE WARRENGT OF BUSINESS SO RECESS OF BUILDING WARRENGT OF BUSINESS SO RECESS OF BUILDING WARRENGT OF BUSINESS OF BUILDING WARRENGT OF BUI HELVITEIRO TETRE MIO PROGRESSE UN MUSICIA SU PROGRAM STREET, LANGUAS RELECT MAY THE TITLE HELVITEIRO TETRE MIO PROGRESSE OF BUSICIAN AND PROGRESSE OF BUSICIAN AND PROGRESSE OF BUSICIAN AND BUSICIAN BUSICIAN AND BUSICIAN AND CORRECT AT THE OF COURS TO PROGRESS WATER APPLIES TO WILLIAM PROGRESSES WITH THE BUSICIAN EXPERTISANT COLUMNICAL PROGRESSION FOR BUSICIAN METHODS BUSICIAN AND THE BUSICIAN AND FRANCIAL PROGRESSION COLUMNICAL PROGRESSION FOR BUSICIAN METHODS BUSICIAN AND THE BUSICIAN AND THE BUSICIAN AND THE BUSICIAN COLUMNICAL PROGRESSION FOR BUSICIAN METHODS BUSICIAN AND THE BUSICIAN AND TH MULTON PROSTEDED MYR THE BUT OF MAN FRANCIAL PROPERTIES AND PROPERTY OF THE CONTROL OF THE CONTR FOR SHANCED AND FOR MONTHLY SECURE UNDER THE OF MAN LEGISLATION, DEPOSITE WARE OF UNIT OF BEACH OND & BRANCED AND FOR LINES AND THE DEPOSITORS. COMERZADEN SCHENE COMMINED IN THE PYREND PRINCIPLE COMMINISTRACES IN DESCRIPTION OF DESCRIPTION STERROWN RAYING BANDARD & BANDARD SOCKIA PRODUNCES FOR STATE PLAND BESIND BRADARD & BANDARD AND FOUND FOR THE DAY OF THE BENNY INVESTOR OF THE DESCRIPTION OF THE DES

E4 2 1 -

THE fog of uncertainty surrounding the future of Gerry Adams may take days to lift, as Downing Street and Dublin scour intelligence reports for evidence that there is still some point in talking to him. The Sinn Fein president's role

in the Northern Ireland peace pro cess was absolutely central to its success - until the IRA bombed London's Docklands last Friday.

Government officials on both sides of the Irish Sea want to know: Did he know of the bombing in advance? If he did, his credibility as a man exclusively committed to peaceful methods is shattered; but if he didn't, has he now lost his position of influence within the IRA?

Whatever the answers, there can be no doubt that the announcement ending the ceasefire is a shattering blow to Gerry Adams and the peace strategy he has painstakingly constructed.

The Sinn Fein president refused to condemn what for all his new-found allies - constitutional Irish nationalism and corporate America — is the indefensible resort to marder and mass destruction, tactics of

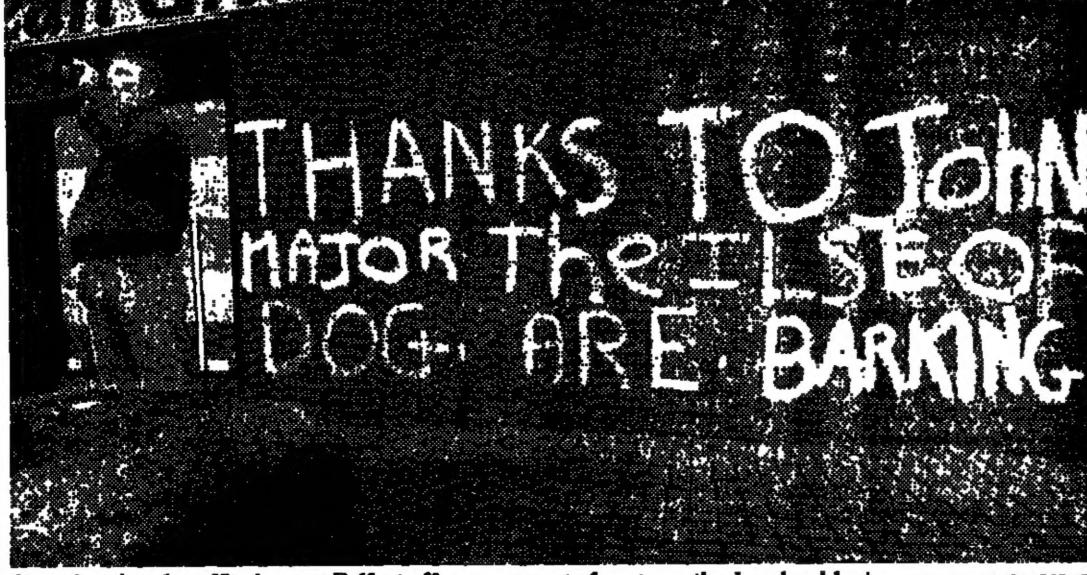
Bad faith and British dishonesty

Gerry Adams

N Friday night last week, the IRA ended its 18-month-long cessation. The announcement was greeted universally with disappointment and regret. At this time my thoughts are with the families of those killed and injured in the London explosion. I understand the pain they are going through. I speak from the personal experience of losing many relatives, friends and colleagues in 25 years of conflict. It may be difficult for some people to absorb this after what happened last week, but the reality is that the IRA was undefeated when 18 months ago it took a very courageous decision to create what was universally recognised to be the greatest opportunity since partition: to resolve the conflict and secure a lasting peace scitlement. But the British governobstacle after another to frustrate every attempt to sit down around the negotiating table.

Inclusive negotiations, without preconditions or vetoes, is the key | tentions to advancing the peace process to a there has not been one word of real

For 18 months Sinn Fein and othtiating table waiting for the British | negotiations That without peace | be what happens next? In any con- alleriance of alleriance of the state of



A newly painted graffito in west Belfast offers comment of sorts on the London blast

with a unique and unprecedented

Our goal was to deepen that hope,

One thing is clear; it is not possi-

ment and the unionists erected one | would approach the peace process | complete cessation of military oper- | of the IRA cessation, Sinn Fein's positively; the bad faith and dishon- ations, it presented everyone, but esty was so barefaced that it sur- particularly the two governments, prised even those of us with a healthy cynicism about British in-

peace settlement. This was the com- was released and then promoted, as | ginning for all of the Irish people, | and democratic negotiations based David Trimble, leader of the Ulster | and to open a new chapter in the rela- | on equality. This is not a military ments, publicly and repeatedly in | Unionists, marched through the na- | tionship between the Irish and | problem. It is a political problem the run-up to the IRA cessation. I tionalist community in Garvaghy | British people. Regrettably that hope | which was militarised by the British. This was the context in which the | Road, as Irish prisoners were mis- | was dashed on the rock of John IRA in August 1994 made their his- | treated in English jails, as plastic | Major's self-interest and the need for toric announcement. Since that time | bullets were fired at peaceful negotiations. Nor is there even the | wrecked nationalist homes. We | ble to have peace in Ireland unless pointed out, with growing despera- the British government is committion, that there could be no negoti- ted to that objective.

Clearly, the question now must

or occas a surrender of the ments established the twin-track approach. The beigh Track approach. The beigh Track approach a surrender of the

was not moving forward it was al-

peace strategy remains as the main function of our party. Our efforts to build an effective peace process must be redoubled.

Peace in Ireland can only be We watched as Private Lee Clegg | to nourish it and to build a new be- achieved through honest dialogue It needs a political solution that can only be achieved by dialogue.

For Sinn Fein's part, we ar tirmly committed to democratic and peaceful means of resolving political issues and to the objective of an conitable and lasting agreement that can commend the consent and

Sinn Fein also remains committed to the total disarmament of all mindset which demands victory Bruton, described it as the means to settlement. nessed bad faith and dishonesty. Mitchell's international body issued process could not stand still. If it democratic negotiations remains

Gerry Adams is president of

ceasefire was about to end It is more likely that he may have been aware that decisions had been taken in the light of the political situation, but not what

their consequences would be or when they might take place. The collapse of the ceasefire finally exposed the inherent weaknesses in the Sinn Fein president's strategy. Republicans were prepared to euspend judgment so long as there appeared to be real gains, but as the months dragged into

years the contradictions began to

emerge into painful clarity. The surprise is that after 25 years of violence the leadership of the republican movement seemed prepared to settle for so little. The weakness may be that Mr Adams had not taken sufficlent care to bring the rank and file with him.

But the unionists were not prepared to play by the rules of the "pan-nationalist front" and John Major was not in a strong enough position to coerce them to the table. In the end the republican movement's internal tensions proved too much.

There may be one tiny, bitter grain of consolation for the Sinn Fein president. Without the party, without the IRA, there can be no peace in Ireland or Britain mand, the act was irrational betermination. When the assertion of gage in a little bit of violence and rebly thousands more futile deaths, the talking will have to begin all over again.

ment and compromise. We have wit- talks. But when Senator George out, with others, that the peace faith and dishonesty confounded

HAT acute observer of human

is that we are still capable of aston-

, ishment". The general astonish-

ment last week when the IRA

self-delusion, the Duc de La

Arthur Aughey

those who believed that the British | When the IRA announced its

have been committed to violence.

dumped it, reneging again on its ways in grave clanger of moving commitment to begin all-party talks. | back. That has now happened. But despite the tragic breakdown | Shin Fein But why were we so astonished?

and Irish governments to disabuse them of that. fronted by our own self-delusions | sent course. It is politics with a no-

about the capacity of democratic loss clause. For Sinn Feln, politics is procedures to attract those who war by other means. Why, then, did the IRA return to Rochefoucauld, believed that the the principles of democratic proce obvious circumstantial reasons. Sinn Fein never acknowledged its campaign now? There are three "only thing that should astonish us | dure. The Downing Street Declara-First, the moment of maximum distion was unacceptable. The IRA agreement between the British and would not accept the remit of Sena- Irish governments was selected as a act goes unrewarded. The opportutor Mitchell's international body on way of trying to deflect blame on to nity exists for the so-called "Irish" announced the ending of its cease— decommissioning. Sinn Fein did not John Major's shoulders. Second, peace process" (which we now fire and exploded a bomb in London subscribe to the Mitchell report's bombing London was a transparent tends to confirm La Rochefou- six principles and would not sign up attempt to drive a wedge between cauld's maxim. Why were we all so to the "Realities and Principles" re the people of Great Britain and the process. It is time for unionists to port of the Forum for Peace and people of Northern Ireland. Third, it The astonishment did not lie in Reconciliation in Dublin. This sug- was an emphatic and deadly way of process with which everyone can the shocking and appalling nature gests that the ideological end resaying to to elections.

tural explanation. The IRA is rooted than its "intensification". Elections In other words, the peace process in both self-pity and self-righteousone felt at the enormity of the IRA's has one distinctive meaning for Sinn ness. It is the militant assertion of a action. Astonishment lay, firstly, in Fein and the IRA. Process means an sense of victimhood which involves the apparent irrationality of the act. engagement towards a pre-deter- cynical political calculation and For those of us tutored in the way of mined end. It is a working out of a ideological dogmatism. The culture cause it appeared so pointless and democratic procedures, such as the turn to the peace process having so utterly disproportionate to the consent of the people of Northern achieved a renegotiation of the represent political difficulties in Ireland, appears to conflict with that quirements for a ceasefire. In short, Dr Arthur Aughey is senior politics. Northern Ireland. Astonishment process then, for republicans, the violence will deliver what argument lecturer at the University of Ulster at also lay, however, in being con- process is in crisis, has run its pre- cannot. It is the task of the British Jordanstown

La Rochefouenuld noted that no

"occurrences are so unfortunate that the shrewd cannot turn them to some advantage, nor so fortunate that the imprudent cannot turn them to their own disadvantage". Politicians must turn this outrage to the advantage of democratic society of the act iself. Astonishment is not mains more important to Sinn Fein However, there is a broader cul- fashioning of the process rather nust take place.

The politics of the peace process democratic procedures and the law of historical inevitability based of militant republicanism is subject gage the citizens of Northern Irecivilities that such procedures deon the Irish people's right to self-deto illusions — such as that it can enland. There is a workable deal to be had. The IRA's bomb must not frus-

GUARDIAN WEEKLY February 18 1998

One bomb must not stop the talks

ISMARCK once wisely observed that events are series of arguments about the terms upon which stronger than the plans of men. He might have had Northern Ireland in mind, for his words precisely describe the extremely difficult situation in which all parties now find themselves. Until last week, every protagonist in Northern Ireland politics was working more or less willingly within the same framework. Whether they liked it or not, they were consenting parts of a process that was leading towards all-party talks on the future of Ulster and of north-south relationships in Ireland. Some were pressing ahead faster and more impatiently than others. Some were enthusiastic about the prospect, while others were less so. Yet even the British government and the unionist parties, the objects of intense criticism from nationalist Ireland for their perceived caution, knew and approved of what was happening and of where things were heading.

Last week's bomb has thrown the plans of men into disarray. The question is no longer how to get to all-party talks but how to deal with the IRA's bombing of London's Docklands. The IRA's deliberate resort to violence has become an issue in itself. The British and Irish governments are in the difficult position of demanding that Sinn Fein disassociate itself from the very thing which its allies in the IRA have just done so deliberately, before be involved at all stages. There should be no vetoes applied to the welfare workers even if they know, inwardly, that it is any return to negotiations can take place. Irish na- on participation. Only then will we know whether themselves, many of whom will no not likely to work. They are also inthere is a real hope of workable compromise seta difficult position because they have spent so | ford to pass up the chance of finding out. much time over the past two years claiming that the republican movement has abandoned the armed struggle, when it is now obvious that it has not. Even the republicans are in a spot, since no-

It is understandable that this should be a time of an early vote confusion. The bombing took most of the protagonists by surprise. The coasefire had not just become a way of life, as it was in Northern Ireland, but a way of thinking. There was an assumption, throughout the simplest way possible. Everyone said that most of Ireland and in the United States, that Sinn Fein had decided to break their lances in order to to discuss, let alone to begin, the decommunity of weapons was widely seen as a hardline negotiating tactic rather than proof that they would return to murder if they did not get their way.

THE fact that the IRA has now renounced exclu-I sively peaceful means is therefore deeply shocking to those who believed that the republican movement had made an historic compromise when the ceasefire was announced in 1994. The IRA have made a lot of political and church leaders look stupid and naive. But perhaps the real naively is ever to have imagined that the republican movement, steeped in the heroism and martyrdom of the armed struggle as it is, would ever give up these means of achieving its aims. Those aims of a British withdrawal from Northern Ireland and the unification of Ireland remain unaltered.

The real question is whether the various protagonists have a mutual political interest in talking to one another. It is vital always to bear in mind that the peace process began because all sides - not just the IRA - wanted to bring an end to the terrorist war in the north. Republicans wanted to stop be evidence that they were going to win a military victory, and because they believed that Britain was in the mood to make political concessions, partly because of the damage caused by the IRA's mainland bombing campaign. But Britain wanted to stop too, because it was expensive to maintain the counterterrorist state in Northern Ireland, because the IRA showed no sign of giving up and because the continuance of the conflict was damaging Britain's international position, not least in the United States.

the good political judgment that the war was a a basis for a new settlement in the north, not least nomy — itself partly a reflection of the more opti-Reynolds and the SDLP's John Hume, seemed so to around 6 per cent from 10.2 per cent at the last ready to bring the two sides together. But if that election. The issue is more likely to hurt Likud, was a good political judgment then, when the IRA's with concern that its return to power could damarmed struggle was in full flow, then how can it not | age the economy by upsetting the peace process. sooner rather than later be a good political judg. There is still a risk for Mr Peres that his ratings ment again, even though the IRA has resumed may wane over the next three months, especially if ines that cuts in welfare costs to bombing? The reasons which brought the peace there is a new outbreak of terrorism. Mr Arafat there is a new outbreak of terrorism. Mr Arafat employers will enable them to comprocess into being are just as valid. That seems to have been somewhat forgotten as the months of now they are linked together as partners for peace.

the ceasefire have trickled along, especially in Britain and especially in the Conservative party.

The bombing did not take place when everything

Sinn Fein could be permitted to join all-party talks. The British government and the Labour party thought that these terms were politically necessary first steps. To Sinn Fein they looked like a variety of ways of demanding that it should surrender. In the long and tedious argument about these terms, the main point of the peace process seemed to become increasingly remote.

The case for restarting the peace process is stronger than ever, because the bombing has reminded many people of what is at stake. It forces people to recall how hopeless and negative the old bombing campaigns had become. It compels people to put an active value on the peace that they are now faced with losing. Do we want to slip back into the world of bombings and assassinations, of emer-

gency legislation, dirty tricks and political vacuum? The case for talks is overwhelming. A peace still needs to be built, and Britain and Ireland have a common interest in pressing ahead to revive the peace process on the basis of the Mitchell report and according to a brisk timetable. The British and lrish prime ministers should meet as soon as possible to set the process in motion. The Americans, who have played a constructive role so far, should

he would find it more difficult to push forward the flagging and the next phase of lalks who restles Arafat - supposed to deal with "permanent status" -- would also present mounting problems for an Israeli government preoccupied with its political future. So what to do? Mr Peres's answer is to reverse the running order of events: the Israeli elections will now come (in late May) at the earliest possible date and normal negotiating service can then be resumed on the increasingly likely assumption that Labour will be returned to power. Advancing the date would not have been an op-

tion for Mr Peres if public opinion had not already shifted significantly in his direction. It is easy to explain this as a "sympathy vote" in the aftermath of the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin. Surveys at the end of last week gave Mr Peres 52-53 per cent breakdown would give Labour 48 per cent in the Knesset against 35 per cent for the newly combined strength of Likud and the far right Tsomet party. But though sympathy has played a part, the scale of this shift suggests that a more thoughtful process is at work. Mr Peres, broadening his inheritance from Mr Rabin, offers peace. As one commentator in the daily Maariv puts it, it is "Peace with far-reaching concessions. Peace with risks. But peace." It is not at all clear what Mr Netanyahu offers. He already had a severe problem in combating the belief that sections of the Likud party had tacitly condoned the extremism that led to Mr Rabin's assassination. He now says that he too will make peace while rejecting all of Mr Peres's concessions. A good proportion of vate spending, doesn't greatly alter the Israeli electorate clearly does not believe him. the financial problem, since all three Significantly, most Likud Knesset members now ac- strategies are costly and the form of with no assignable human causes, first and then more openly. They had both made cept the Osio agreements as a fact of life, and there spending is ultimately irrelevant. Mr Peres is also assisted by the improving eco- ring services from the public to the

mistic climate for peace. Unemployment has fallen | In fact, as the comparisons between

COMMENT 13

A bitter pill that was going well but when everything was going extremely badly. The peace process had lost almost all momentum and had become bogged down in a

Martin Woollacott

THE linked crises of welfare and unemployment are worsening. They underlie the tensions in Europe over monetary union, and are already beginning to dominate the US election campaign. Everywhere in the developed world wage restraint, social services min prime ministers are banging their heads. Even the United Nations is downsizing, a symbol of the times.

The British government's plans are a perfect example of the way in which welfare and unemployment problems overlap. The very techniques of re-engineering which, applied in private industry, have care, and unemployment pay. In the United States, state governors have proposed a compromise on welfare that may help Republicans and the White House resolve their quarrel over the budget. It is a compromise, however, that would erode entitlements to welfare payments.

we have to swallow if things are t get any better. Yet the evidence suggests that, at best, this is only a temporary way out of our dilemmas. Discussion is made obscure by the persistent refusal to recognise that the economic processes which produced the employment and welfare crisis have human agents, whose decisions could have been, and could still now be, different ones. They are addled further by the persistent notion that money and jobs are saved by cutting welfare.

This argument is a strange one. First, it ignores the fact that welfare that produces social peace, or a of less welfare spending is higher spending, by the state and by individuals, on other forms of security, financial and physical. The agencies but the spending goes on. You can them off, or you can suppress them. three, in varying proportions. Second, it suggests that transfer-

have consistently shown, societies with largely private provision tend to spend more, because of duplica-

in Europe or North America. In fact, such reductions may gravely affect workers here, but have only a tiny effect on competitiveness.

The truth about reducing the welfare state, at least through the kind of reforms that we see proposed in many Western societies, is that no money is necessarily saved. This bears repetition. What happens when welfare is reformed, is that the costs of social help and social control are financed and spent in a different way. In effect the systems for dealing with social trouble start to move away from being paid mainly by taxation, administered mainly by the state, and aimed primarily at caring rather than guarding and suppressing. But the systems do not thereby cease to

exist, or to cost money. on the pavement outside the Job | the public itself. Thus, rather sucl-Centre. In Germany, the govern- denly, ordinary people are being acment, faced last week with the high- cused of "not having made proper est unemployment figures since the provision for their old age". Yesterwar, wants to cut pensions, health day's dutiful taxpayer becomes today's shiftless ne'er≺lo-well.

More broadly, the Western public stands accused of schizophrenia. It wants social services, even says in polls that it will vote for higher taxes to pay for them. Yet when it comes to it, the vote goes in that other, lowtax, slot But the live ax cassion oice nomic history of the nast 20 years needs to be looked at afresh to identify the relatively small and relatively purposeful groups that have created the difficult economy we inhabit.

MERICAN writers such as Michael Lind have argued, essentially, that a new class has seized control. In thousands of usually obscure coups d'état in businesses across the West, a new kind of more ruthless manager has dis placed somewhat more generous and socially conscious predecessors. Such managers are assisted by able but morally neutral technocrats, skilled at bringing in the software and at organising the contracting out that leads to higher profits and smaller workforces. To these two groups can be added the politicians who respond to business pressure for lower company taxes, lower taxes on high incomes, and welfare cuts.

Lind's "overclass" theory, while specific to his American case, has the virtue of recognising that these critical processes are about power and interest, taking us away from the notion that economic change is like climatic change, something mitigated but never opposed.

Reforming welfare is one thing, but cutting it as a cure for economic problems is a chimera. What would British and US health spending help most would be to abandon the idea that a welfare rollback is easential to tackling the jobs crisis. What is essential is to confront the forces tion and profit taking. Third, it imag- in our societies which have deepened social inequalities, stripped out

=1

Europe either sticks together or falls apart, argues Will Hutton. But will Britain's

Conservatives listen? HANCELLOR Helmut Kohl may overstate his case, but in essence the German leader is right. Europe has never managed to organise itself into a stable system of nation states in the past, and it is unlikely to do so in the future.

If the process of European integration is stalled, the Continent is unlikely to lapse into war in the lurid way he described in his Louvain speech at the beginning of this month, but things could become pretty tense all the same.

Left to itself, the present European apparatus probably has a better-thanevens chance of rubbing along roughly as it is today. Europe's political institutions and the single market would remain, and the great post- fall away. war achievements would gradually become more entrenched even as they were reformed and modified. There need be no grand schemes for monetary or political union.

But Europe does not operate by itself; it is part of a global system whose malfunctions directly impinge on the Europeans - and which is the prime source of European destabilisation.

Britain's Conservative and Labour leaders alike would clearly love to believe in the jogging-along-as-we-are option, obviating the need for hard choices and relieving the British of

e text, does not lie in a return to the European state system; Britain, as one of the weakest European economies, would be the loser.

The clearest example is money. If there was a stable international fi nancial system with a solid anchor currency, Europe's states could happily organise themselves as a subset of the wider system. Europe could create a zone of comparative currency stability so the single market was not wracked by competitive devaluations, either by operating a

Guardian Reporters

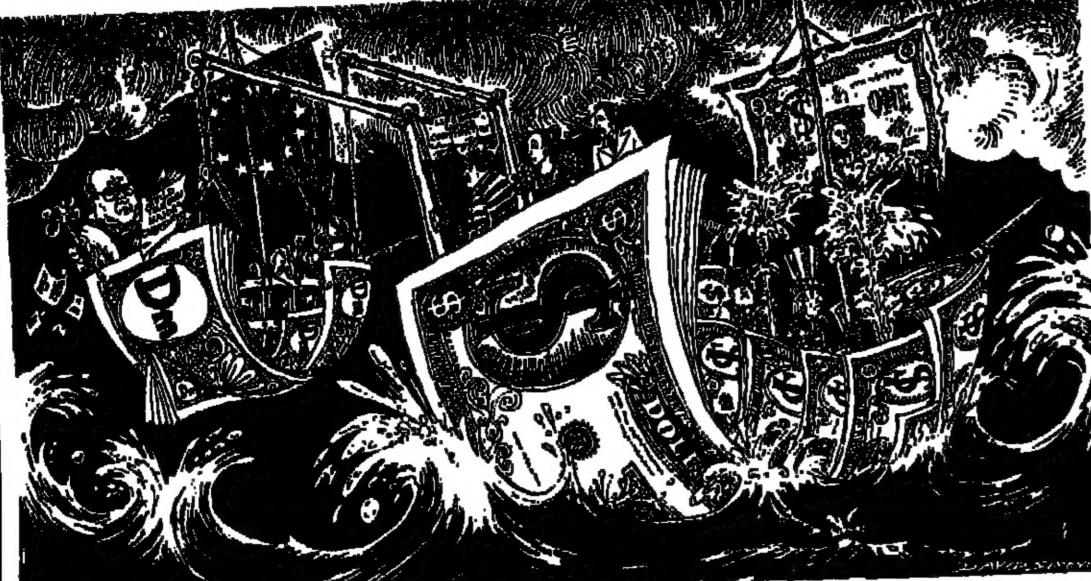
AST WEEK, unemployment is

Germany topped four million,

while in France it is already more

than three million. As dole queues

European Commission president



common inflation targets. The ratio- | they are limited in their action by | could attempt to do a bilateral deal nale for the single currency would

anchor currency. The world curreacy is the depreciating and volatile dollar, and the system is the anarchy of floating exchange rates. Thus Europe is trying to con-

struct a zone of currency stability in and with its own leading currency, the mark, rising structurally against the dollar and its fellow European currencies. So what, you may ask. Why cannot Europe's currencies just float up and down as the market takes them - as MPs Peter Shore

situation is likely to unwind soon.

eign exchange markets is over- given a modicum of sensible ecoshoot, as traders rely on the "trend | nomic management. It will not be so being their friend" to buy the appre- hard as the mark, but as Germany ciating currency and sell the depreciating one. Both the yen and the strong it is a pointless comparison. mark are overvalued on any criteria, but the overshoot could stay for years before there is an automatic

In other words, the Germans

Europe's gnawing dilemma over jobs

budget constraints - in part beunion and in part because the Maastricht criteria perversely have become the all-powerful financial markets' benchmark for what con-

stitutes "sound" policy. The conunbecomes more acute: domestic reflation is vetoed, unemployment mounts and the loss of jobs to the Mediterranean littoral The best response is to Europeanise the problem so that the en-

the weight of international diversification out of dollars - and the Euro on the left and Nicholas Budgen on can emerge as a new world currency. uncht criteria if the Euro is any, as a result of the degoing to be a hard currency, but the and some on valuation of the peseta and lira. The weight of dollar liquidity moving into Euros will be perfectly suffi-

tire European economy shoulders

The one reliable fact in the for- clent to ensure it remains hard, cannot live with a currency that Why should other European

countries give up their autonomy to help Germany, and to a lesser extent France? The answer is if the problem cannot be Europeanised, (and the French) are facing further | then Germany will start to look for adjustment on top of the high unem- bilateral solutions. It might form a ready suffering. Both countries insist that single market privileges | the loser. Such is the price of refushave announced job packages, but are available only to its members; it ling to confront our myths.

merger with TV group

Lisa Buckingham

THE Express newspapers empire, headed by Tory peer Lord Stevens, caused a frenzy of takeover speculation in the media world last week by announcing a £3 billion merger with MAI, the television and money broking group led by Labour's multi-millionaire "Red Baron", Lord Hollick.

The merger will create one of the biggest media combines in Britain and one of the top 20 press and broadcasting groups in the world.) comes after months of speculation that Lord Stevens's United News and

Carlton Communications, one But there is no stable interna- Maastricht criteria for monetary ance the rising power network; bal- the big three players in ITV, was ruwith a vengeance — but this time, the merger by launching its own bid for United News or MAI. The company, which owns Carlton and Central, has been regarded as a potential; without an empire or a robust US

not make a move.

Shares in smaller IIV players. such as Yorkshire Tyne Tees, dealers hoped other broadcast com, Charles Wyplosz argued in the 2-methanish | takeovers before the summer when the legislation is expected to reach the statute book. Yorkshire Type Tees shares rose by 53p to 900p, MAI by 69p to 448 and United News by states need to establish a turnover 28p to 652p.

tax on foreign exchange activity along When the Government published with taxes on bank lending by nonthe Broadcasting Bill in December, it set new ownership rules permittive activity --- that will permit each ting newspaper groups to control ITV companies for the first time. It replaced the two-licence limit with a 15 per cent ownership cap on the total television audience.

Yet even that requires a degree of Lords Hollick and Stevens dis-France and Germany that the missed talk that an outside bidder reaction to Chancellor would disrupt their merger, which fixed but flexible exchange rate sysployment from which they are alcurrency bloc with its satellites and
is creating a world in which it will be television stations, Channel 5, the Express newspapers, regional newspapers including the Yorkshire Post and in business services such as the

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

Austrella	2.0270-2.0311	2.0285-2,0328
Austria	15.83-15.88	15,80-15.83
Belgtum	46.30-46,41	48.20-48.30
Canada	2.0997-2.1027	2.1125-2.1165
Denmark	8.70-8.72	8.69-8.71
France	7.74-7.75	7.73-7.76
Germany	2.2527-2,2558	2.2491-2.2522
Hong Kong	11.82-11.83	11.66-11.87
ireland '	0.9712-0.9738	0.9680-0.9708
Italy	2.404-2,408	2,407-2,411
Japan	163.17-163.44	161.05-161.32
Netherlande	2.5224-2.5258	2.5188-2.5221
New Zealand	2.2711-2.2738	2.2618-2.2644
Norway	9.83-9.84	9.83-9.84
Portugaj ·	233,76-234,69	233,50-234.12
Spein ·	189.61-189.90	189.92-190.20
Swaden	10,62-10,64	10.63-10.65
Switzerland .	1.8382-1.8411	1 0000-1 9357-1

att no share index down 20.0 at 3735.6. FTSE 490 Index up 15.8 at 4152.2. Gold stown \$9.25 at \$406.26.

ing the unthinkable — switching its government's annual economic rethe 11.7 per cent unemployment budget priorities from agriculture to port complained that wage-earners employment-sensitive programmes such as the trans-European infra- gross pay. lengthen cross the European Union, structure networks and industrial rethe search is on for ways of creating search. Last year EU farm spending considering restrictions on over ploy people.

Jacques Santer is calling a crisis to grow over the next three years. halve the amount of overtime in pri- of FF6,250 (\$1,240) costs his or her and trade unions in May to agree acbe easily switched between differ calls from trade unions and opposition to the national council tion. The choice of Lille in northern ent EU budget spending lines withleading industrialised countries governments. Traditionally, mem- sharing. forum on unemployment in April ber states insist that spare cash is looks particularly apposite. In Brussels there is a growing even UK Treasury ministers may leading corporations, unemployment term. What cripples employers are

perception that the success or failfind it hard to resist the switching of is close to 13 per cent and rising.

local taxes and contributions to famhelp decide whether monetary lems are increasingly acute, with sure. The government has accused ployers,"

union starts in 1999, as planned. the social costs of employment The Commission is now consider meeting increasing criticism. The were lucky to take home half their

came in under budget by around time to force companies to take on A French worker earning the £1.8 billion, an underspend expected staff. The proposals, which would statutory minimum monthly salary

employers of pocketing job-creation incentives without taking on new

Britain will look for allies to bal-

Conservative analysts please note,

Britain will be playing the game

ally. German GDP is nearly twice

Britain's, and over the low-growth

German GDP growing on average

1.5 per cent a year against Britain's

The right approach, as Barry

as the platform for a single cur-

rency, and so allow more time for

To make this feasible, European

residents in order to curb specula-

state more autonomy to generate

foundations for a single currency.

economic growth while laying the

James Tobin and

game at their own risk.

Eichengreen,

convergence.

co-operation

British

President Jacques Chirac alienrate. But the National Council of French Employers claims prime minister Alain Juppé is not doing In Sweden, the government is enough to make it cheaper to em-

The trouble is that money cannot vate industry, come amid growing employer FF8,700 (\$1,720). A out the approval of national week in a drive to promote job- of 50 per cent in peripheral charges, paid by the employer. The real prob-Despite an export boom that has lem is not, as is often stated, the handed back to them. This time brought soaring profits for many high cost of the French welfare sysin France, efforts at a joint ily grants which we do not think Germany's labour market probe approach are already under press should be the responsibility of em-

Express in

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

c#

Media group was a takeover target.

The deal, which sent some media shares rocketing, has altered the strategic outlook for major media players and fuelled belief that a se ries of acquisitions will follow.

predator for both United and MAI.

However, shareholders in MAL and United sold large tranches of stock on Monday, apparently in a bet that Carlton Communications would 1.1 per cent. Weak players enter this

opinion research organisation, NOP.

Sterling rates Sterling rates February 12 February 8

Austrella	2.0270-2.0311	1 2.0285-2,0328
Austria	15.83-15.88	15,80-15.83
Beigturn	46,30-46,41	48.20-48.30
Canada	2.0997-2.1027	2.1125-2.1166
Denmark	8.70-8.72	8.69-8.71
France	7.74-7.75	7.73-7.75
Garmany	2.2827-2,2868	2,2491-2,2522
Hong Kong	11.82-11.83	11.66-11.67
Ireland	0.9712-0.9738	
Italy		0.9880-0.9708
Japan	2.404-2,408	2,407-2,411
Netherlande	163.17-163.44	161.05-161.32
New Zealand	2.5224-2.5256	2.5188-2.5221
Norway	2.2711-2.2738	2.2618-2.2644
Portugal	9.83-9.84	9.83-9.84
Spain ·	233,76-234,69	233,60-234.12
Swaden	189.61-189.90	189.92-190.20
Switzerland .	10,62-10,64	10.63-10.65
USA .	1.8383-1.8411	1,8329-1,835 7:1
ECU.	1.5304-1.5314	1.5346-1.5356
	1.2269-1.2281	1.2272-1.2354
Tagino Share	relay days an a st	

can soldiers. In Banja Luka, during his appearance last Friday, a British OSNIAN SERB leader Rado- NATO vehicle was parked nearby. van Karadzic has emerged No attempts were made to detain from behind the scenes for him. the first time since the Dayton peace accord, staging a show of aubunal in The Hague was "ridiculous . . . It is shameful what they are ment by the International War doing. They are accusing the political and military leadership without In an interview, Karadzic said he held city 90 miles northwest of would not go to the tribunal willingly. "It is not a court or a tribunal." a string of Bosnian Serb military de he said. "It is a form of lynching for feats in October that set the stage | the whole nation. Why should I do Karadzic also insisted his political position in Serb-held Bosnia is rocking Bosnian Serb leader, noted that the appearance — which dominated larity has faded since the peace the nightly news and included a live | agreement was put together last television appearance, "Ask the November. He specifically did not President" — had all the trappings | rule out participating in nationwide of a kickoff to an election campaign. | elections planned for later this year,

for a conciliatory line, they ex-

ing," the former psychiatrist said. referring to China's aging leader who rules the world's biggest country from behind the scenes, Indeed, Karadzic announced a new law that would allow Serb refugees to keep houses they have taken over in the

Karadzic's attempt to reemerge in Serb politics after months of seclusion was bolstered by the Muslimled government's recent arrests of Serb soldiers and officers suspected of war crimes. The arrests, which On Thursday last week, Karadzic's | led Bosnian Serb authorities to cut off contacts with the NATO peace four checkpoints manned by Italian, | force, also discredited moderate | American, Russian and then Ameri- | Bosnian Serbs who were pushing

cord that ban any indicted war crim-

"I am stronger than Deng Xiaop-

inal from taking part.

"There are some people in our !

party who were trying to bring us closer to the Muslim-Croat Federation before this happened." Kasagic. ment, said. "This experience has showed us that the 'Brotherhood and Unity' line is dead."

Bosnia," he said.

Muslim police have captured

His view was echoed by Dragutin held territory, the Serbian Socialist Party of the Serb Republic, which has backed better ties with Muslims and Croats. "These arrests will only help the extremists on all sides of

Bosnian Serb Gen. Djordje Djukic and Col. Aleksa Krsmanovic along with other, lower-ranking soldiers over recent weeks and are holding some of them on suspicion of war crimes. The arrests have triggered bringing peace to Bosnia after more

than three years of war. Richard Goldstone, chief prosecutor of the war crimes tribunal, has said that there is justification to opposition party in Bosnian Serb- | keep the two officers in custody. But other Western officials have privately voiced opposition to the arrests, saying that while technically permissible under the accord, they cante at an inopportune time and undermined hope for improved ties between Muslims and Serbs.

But Karadzic denied the claims of Gen. Ratko Mladic, the top Serb military officer, that the Serbs would break relations with NATO. And Kasagic later predicted that Serb contacts with NATO and Carl Bildt, the top Western diplomat in Bosnia, would resume.

if carried out as indicated by Karadzic and Kasagic, the resumption of contacts would not only defuse the crisis but also amount to a repudiation of Mladic, who ordered his forces to boycott both the Sarajevo government and

Karadzic's foray into northern Bosnia was seen as a bold move. He has had little backing in this area, which has turned increasingly toward the Serbian Socialist Party. The main source of Karadzic's power traditionally has been Serb neighborhoods of Sarajevo, where he lived before the war:

In Banja Luka, Karadzic attended an important conference of his Serbian Democratic Party, the organization that led Bosnia into war in April 1992. At the meeting, he handauthority launched by Predrag Radic, the popular mayor of Bania Luka who, although a member of Karadzic's party, has been highly critical of his chief.

The challenge concerned who would assume Kasagic's seat on the municipal council of Banta Luka. It became vacant late last year when he was appointed primeminister of the Bospinso-Scrb, self, enemies from among Croats and Muslims," Karadzic said, referring to the expulsion of hundreds of thousands of them from Serb-held ground. "The new enemies are people with left-wing ideas that are alien

Serbian President Milosevic has backed the Serbian Socialist Party here, providing it with money and daily media coverage from Belgrade-based TV.

to the Serbian people."

Time to Do the Business on Beijing

OPINION **Jim Hoagland**

GUARDIAN WEEKLY February 18 1996

John Pomfret in Banja Luka

thority and scoffing at his indict-

entry at Banja Luka, the major Serb-

Sarajevo, in his first visit here since

ing month. Opposition officials and

Rajko Kasagic, another high-rank-

the Montenegro-born, nationalistic

Serb leader has decided to fight

attempts to sideline him mounted

by President Slobodan Milosevic of

Serbia, his former patron, and by an

increasingly strong Serb opposition

A political comeback by Karadzie

tion in Bosnia. In addition to being

an indicted war erminal, Karadzie l

opposed the Dayton accord and, in

particular, has someht to block the

mandated return of Serb-populated

suburbs of Sarajevo to the Muslim-

Karadzic's visit was carried out

led Bosnian government's control.

U.S.-led NATO peacekeeping ope

within Bosnia itself.

for the peace agreement the follow- that?"

Karadzic Stages

Show of Defiance

Karadzic mounted his political re- a shred of evidence."

It was, they said, a clear sign that | brushing aside provisions in the ac-

TAR BETWEEN China and Tai-VV wan is unthinkable today. It makes no sense. It is as unthinkable as an Iraqi invasion of Kuwait was in July 1990, as unthinkable as Britain having to expel the Argentines from the Falklands seemed in 1982.

That of course is the point: The. Clinton administration must now think the unthinkable. It must move with an energy and determination it has not previously shown to prevent a war that could surprise the world by happening.

in the blink of an eye. In this West. decade, few governments have

tured to intimidate Taiwan and bully the Clinton administration into yet more concessions on trade, human rights and technology sales. The Clinton administration now

confronts the consequences of clinging to a failed China policy feels it cannot afford to abandon. The same bureaucratic reflex that kept secret arms shipments flowing to Iran's "moderates" under Ronald Reagan and guaranteed agricultural credits to Saddam Hussein to make him more reasonable now drives Bill Clinton's policy toward China's

bluffing with its increasingly belli- presumes to be lurking in the govgerent behavior. The experts assure | ernment enough ammunition to enus this bellicosity is designed to able them to prevail and moderate scare Taiwan's government and in- | Chinese behavior. China scholar fluence the island's March presiden- Orville Schell puts it succinctly: "The truth is that China is not play-Miscalculation and hubris 'can ing to solve problems but to win" in sweep away those rational scenarios | a long-term confrontation with the

The U.S. concessions - Clinton's shown as great a propensity to mis- reversal on granting low-tariff trading calculate and misunderstand each status to China, the waffling on visas political values. That is the best way weaknesses another, its uncerother as Beljing and Washington. for Taiwan officials, looking the other to prevent the unthinkable from be-This is not made easier by the crisis | way on the export of nuclear techno- | coming reality.

meetings Clinton has held with Chinese leaders — have not purchased moderation. Time is running out Beijing escalates its aggressive be havior and buys Russian warplanes.

The administration's approach has convinced Beijing that everything else in the relationship human rights, Hong Kong's future, even regional security - comes second to economic relations and trade. That may not be true. The point is that Beijing now believes it and acts upon it for its own advantage.

Clinton needs now to remove the leverage he has given the Chinese. He should de-emphasize the impor-Every rational, calculated see gagement policy has not given the tance of China to America's eco- though he had the popular sup- troops for a year, he might have nario shows that Beijing is simply rational reformers that Washington nomic future. He should order them port to ignore it, honored his kept American troops on a that a strong trade relationship is America's best chance to moderate Chinese political behavior and bring democracy to China. It may be beyond America's

power to stop China from miscalculating where the brink lies. But it is within America's power to dispel the current ambiguity about the U.S. revival. Halti's poverty provides commitment to Taiwan and U.S.

From Guns to Doves

INSTEAD of a 21-gun salute Haitians released 21 doves to mark the first peaceful democratic passage of power in their country's nearly 200 years. It was a tribute to the outgoing president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide. Elected overwhelmingly, ousted by coup and reseated by US troops, the populist ex-priest abolished the repressive army, virtually ended human rights violations, mostly kept his promise to promote reconciliation, ran ragged but fair elections and, his term. A formidable record.

His successor is his follower falls the onerous morning-after ers, but not for long. mission of consolldating the initial political deliverance and law investment a third. President | cruel second "election."

Préval must find a way between his people's raised expectations and the depressing realities. He must do so under the watchful eye of the still-lionized and still ambitious Aristide, who has retired to private life but apparently intends to run again in 2001.

President Clinton took strong steps to hand Haiti back to its leader and its people. This was the right thing to do. The admin istration followed by providing as much help as it could. Mr. Clinton has a large investment in . Haiti. Were it not for his far larger and riskier investment in Bosnia. where he has sent American pledge to step down at the end of | ing duty in Haiti beyond the similarly promised year there. As it is, the work of stabilization may now and political "twin," 53-year-old be performed by some of the agronomist René Préval. On him other United Nations peacekeep-

The real test will come when Halti must move forward without and order, and stirring economic US intervention — with aid but essentially on its own. If the efone obstacle, its institutional fort flags, then another wave of Haitians may take to the seas and tain hospitality to foreign aid and head for Florida. This would be a

19 es 45 T

The Clinton order was part of a three-pronged effort by the administration to protect slightly more than 1,000 servicemen and women affected by a provision of the \$245 billion defense authorization bill. Clinton also ordered that full military disability benefits be provided to anyone discharged under the provision, and he vowed to work with Congress to repeal the law.

The provision requires that members of the military who test positive for HIV, the virus that causes AIDS, be discharged within six months regardless of their ability to perform their jobs. After a person h infected with HIV, it takes an average of 10 years to develop AIDS.

Clinton believes the provision is "completely abhorrent and offensive. White House Counsel Jack Quinn said. Until the law is ruled tion sponsored by Sen. Edward

ORE than 40 years after her death, Evita Peron still

her is bound to be controver bane of the rich, Evita today is

almost a more formidable his-

torical figure than her husband.

Juan Peron, whose rise to polit-

Enter Madonna, Evita's life is

now the subject of a \$55 million

film, based on the famous musi-

cal and starring the pop singer

in the title role. Now that direc-

with his cast to begin shooting

Evita, the cult that surrounds

the "flag bearer of the poor" is

again consuming Argentines.

The result has been an appro-

priately boisterous, rude and,

at times, even threatening wel-

come for Madonna, whose life

in many ways parallels that of

Evita. Madonna has confronted

come out on top, at least as far

as her followers are concerned.

And, most like Evita, Madonna

thrived even though she has not

always been careful about who

During the past fortnight, one

bishop here proved that a bene-

face when he said he would not

be averse to blessing Madonna

because, after all, Christ himself

had not turned his back on the

A Peronist congresswoman threatened to introduce a bili

declaring Parker, Madonna and

her co-stars, Antonio Banderas

Jonathan Pryce (playing Juan

Peron), personae non gratae.

Other threats made against

(playing Che Guevara) and

diction could be a slap in the

is a talented woman who has

Like Evita, Madonna is

adored and despised. Like

church and state and often

tor Alan Parker has arrived

ical power during the 1940s

took place with the onetime

actress at his side.

her character.

she offends.

prostitute.

Qabriel Escobar

in Buenos Aires

unconstitutional or court action blocks its implementation, however, the law will be enforced, he said.

this treatment of men and women in administration will not," Quinn said. He said a legal test of the provi-

come up tomorrow," and predicted the courts would overturn it.

Bob Dornan, R-California, a conserrant, was attached to the defense weekend. Because the legislation includes a military pay raise and White House officials said, it is too important to the national defense to veto as several civil rights and gay

provision when it emerged in Congress, but Clinton never threatened to veto the overall bill because of it. it would be killed in a House-Senate conference and never become law. Clinton last week endorsed legisla-

Madonna Stirs Controversy Over Evita

Madonna: received threats from

Madonna and an Argentine actor

chosen to play a minor role have

again exposed Argentine extrem-

ists as well as the country's peri-

odic aversion to free expression.

one law enforcement official said

All this has provided fodder

for endless discussions on the

national character. Madonna,

said philosopher Enrique Mari,

is a "detonator" who exposes the

intolerant side of Argentine soci-

ety - one that has been muted

Its membership, now much

diminished, includes Evita fa-

natics who see Madonna's cast-

by 12 years of democracy but

that still lurks in the back-

The threats have resulted in

heightened security, although

the concern is more over the

Argentine extremists

a physical assault.

William Cohen, R-Maine, to repeal the provision. To give that legislation a boost, the White House and basket-"If the Congress chooses to defend ball star Earvin "Magic" Johnson re-

Georgia, and Senate Majority Leader Robert J. Dole, R-Kansas, asking that Johnson, who quit basketba after he was diagnosed as HIV-posi-The provision, sponsored by Rep. tive and then returned to the courts

earlier this month, asked their support for repeal for the military "who, like me just want to do their jobs and provide for their families." Rep. Steve Gunderson, R-Wisconsin, who is gay, said he believes at least some of the Republican leadership in the House will support repeal of the provision. He said the provision was not thwarted earlier because AIDS activists and others believed they had a commitment in

Kennedy, D-Massachusetts, and Sen. | lenge is filed that prompts a judicial order to stop implementing the law The Clinton actions drew strong

praise from civil and gay rights Mills, spokeswoman for the Human Rights Campaign, a gay and lesbian political organization.

Matt Coles, director of the American Civil Liberties Union AIDS

Clinton believes that the provision 'Is both 'abhorrent and offensive

project, said Clinton should have vetoed the legislation but that he took

Dornan has said it is unfair to let HIV-positive service members re-Quinn said no one would lose main in the military, because they their job "until the last possible mo- are not eligible for combat or cerment." He and others said they tain other duties, so other personnel hope that Congress repeals the law must do such work. before then, or that a court chal-

had fathers who were over 20.

The younger the girl, the greater

17 was 24 years old. And two-thirds

of the girls had been sexually

abused in their lives.

Department from performing its routine job of defending a federal law, Clinton took an unusual but not unprecedented step.

Several presidents have done the same, with the most famous case being a decision by Franklin Roosevelt to sign a defense spending bill during World War II despite s provision he believed was uncon-

The provision — which called for blocking the pay of several individual federal officials whom Congress viewed as radical and irresponsible - was not defended in court by Roosevelt and was eventually ruled unconstitutional.

The Clinton administration relied on a Justice Department ruling that the HIV law would only be constitutional if it "serves a legitimate government purpose," according to Assistant Attorney General Walter

Defense Secretary William Perry and Gen. John Shalikashvili, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said to discharge HIV-infected service members who are deemed fit to perform their duties would be "unwarranted and unwise" and serves no military purpose. That concluconclusion that no government pur-In deciding to keep the Justice | pose is served by the provision.

Girls Are Not 'Fair Game'

OPINION

martyr. They are members of the Ellen Goodman same fringe that once prevented a stage production of Jesus YOU COULD say that politics Christ Superstar by blowing up I makes strange bedfellows, but the theater, a tactic that has bedfellows is probably not the best

been used several times to deter These types no longer have power, but they have left their seeds planted," said Mari. "It enemy number one. An enemy with seems to me that they have a face that is young and female. taken advantage of this Madonna In the past, politicians outdid each affair to try to gain a political

ing as the desecration of a

other in their praise of motherhood. Today they outdo each other in space they cannot obtain any laments about teen-age motherhood. other way." From the feminist left to the religious While these predictably right, they have found common Argentine dramas play themselves out, Madonna has quietly ground worrying and sermonizing gone about her business, always over girls who become mothers bein costume. To the astonishlast, the same disparate collection of ment of some (and the obvious disappointment of others), the policy-makers are turning their aterotic Madonna of numerous tention to the partners in this terrible tango: adult men. videos is nowhere to be seen.

In California, which has the high-Instead, a remarkably Evita-like Madonna has flitted in and out est rate of teen-age prognancy in the country, Pete Wilson, a governor of public view, always soberly dressed and always seemingly who tacks from right to center with impressive sailing skills, has issued a in character. "When she walked in, she alwarning to adult men who impregready had the look of Evita. I nate underage girls. In his state of the state address last month, he said: was impressed. There is some-"I have this message: That's not just thing about her that is fragile, like Evita, and at the same time wrong, not just a shame. It's a crime. strong, like Evita," said Sara a crime called statutory rape.'

possibility of an egg being thrown at Madonna, or some Facio, a noted Argentine In fact, it's a crime called "unlawother form of public insult, than photographer who attended a ful sex with a minor" in the genderneutral terminology of the penal private meeting two weeks ago At a news conference given by between the pop atar and a code. But Wilson has allotted group of septuagenarian Parker and the stars last week, Madonna sidestepped political Peronists who had worked mines set by Argentine Journalclosely with Evita. an idea whose time has come back. ists and responded with brief And not just in California.

The people in the room were so tense with expectation, Facio recalled, that someone said. "This moment is almost historic," right as Madonna walked in. At that meeting, Facio said,

Madonna asked questions for three hours, trying to get a clearer picture of what Evita wa like. Did she eat chocolates? Did she drink whiskey? Coffee? Ten? Did she change dresses often? Did she and Juan Peron exchange glances in public?

You do the math. President Clinton's brand new National Campaign to Reduce Teen Pregnancy wants to cut teen pregnancy by a third by 2005. Half the impregnators are adult men. Any rational discussion of this issue has to include these men.

goals is, surely, to collect chile support money by threatening innersonment. But the other goal is to post a protective sign — "Off Linits" - around young and vulnerable girls. This is where the support for dusting off these laws is growing out of a renewed concern about exploitation and abuse, sexual pres sure and predators.

In early America, the age of consent for a girl was 10. Then in the 19th century, a movement made up of feminists and moralists and re formers of many stripes raised the age as high as 18 or 20 for the explicit purpose of protecting young females and their "virtues" from men and their "vices."

But a generation ago, in the wake of the sexual revolution and the women's movement, the social pendulum swang from protecting females to liberating them.

Most of the laws were put into mothballs. As a result, Michelle Oberman of DePaul University says. "Modern criminal law has turned girls from 'jail bait' to 'fair game'."

Now, in many ways, we are concerned again that we have abandoned the responsibility to children. In the real world, "liberation" left \$150,000 to each of 16 counties to girls more vulnerable, and the rego after men who go after girls. It's form did little to right the power imbalance of age and gender.

I'm not in favor of these laws The renewed interest in statutory | they are used to prosecute the 18 rape laws comes out of startling re- year-old boyfriends of 17-year-old search showing that the babies of girls. Every 17-year-old girl is not a teen-age moms don't necessarily victim. Nor is every 18-year-old boy have teen-age dads. Half the babies a predator. The law can never be a born to mothers between 15 and 17 substitute for that best contraceptive: a future.

But this is one way for society to the age difference. In Washington draw a line. This is one way for socistate the average age of men who ety to right the power imbalance. impregnated girls between 12 and It's time to say again that adolescent girls are not "fair game."

Suzanne Moore, page 24

GUARDIAN WEEKL February 18 1998

Is It the Death of Venice?

Daniel Williams in Venice

HIS FADED city, arguably the world's most beautiful urban relic, is in shock from the fire that destroyed La Fenice opera house, a gilded gem that dated from the 18th century.

Recently. Venetians have trooped of the theater. Charred beams and | glorious backwardness - at least | collecting money from readers, telerailings lie in a jumble behind the sur- | until La Fenice burned late last viving neoclassical façade. Mostly, month and they were forced to Venetians are canvassing private inthe passersby stand around silently. Sometimes, there is a murmured "Poor little thing," or "How is it

They grieve not only for the loss of a building, an entertainment cen- woken up from sleep, from the dream ter. a storehouse of culture and l of being surrounded by beauty," said memories. They hurt also from the | Giuseppe Caliandro, a restaurant realization that decay in Venice is so | owner. "Venice's slow destruction advanced — that the city of palaces | somehow was not perceived, maybe and gondolas may already be dead. I was even thought to be part of its (only no one wants to admit it.

Years of talk about protecting the | were faced with our own mortality." city from the relentless sea with technology business, of reforming | Greco, whose gallery stands across | according to reports. In Palermo, | Adriatic Sea traffic. real-estate ownership to open mum- from the gutted building. mified buildings to middle-income renters, has all been empty. In 50 | Fenice has been made a test of years, the population has shrunk from 250,000 to 60,000 and is losing | Mayor Massimo Cacciari pledged to another 1,000 to 2,000 yearly.

Venice has been left out of the explosive prosperity of the Veneto re- opened in 1792, all carved wood, gion just across the bay, where high-tech industry and energetic | built where it was and as it was," he trade have made it Italy's fastestgrowing area.

scious orientation to the past, an | quickly, starting right away, it cerattraction for tourists, has never seemed more pathetic: A fire in the center of town could not be doused because nearby canals had been drained for dredging; the theater make it safe from fires.

as a city of masks, had one of its own violently ripped away.

"What was horrifying was being beauty. In a flash, with La Fenice, we

whether a pulse beats in Venice. Malia-connected builders. rebuild the structure in two years gold and red velvet. "It will be recome celebrated throughout Italy. "If we do not build La Fenice I head of a wealthy republic that

tainly will be a signal that this city has no future," said Vice Mayor Gianfranco Bettin, "The fact that Venice burned and people suffered

The government has already pledged \$15 million to redo La Venetiaus, and perhaps most Ital- | Fenice: the estimated total cost is silently to view the skeletal remains | ians, were accustomed to the city's | about \$25 million. Newspapers are vision stations from their viewers. ponder whether Venice's chronic ill- dustry, and the city's glassblowers nesses are terminal. Venice, famed | have pledged to build a new central

Italy's record of restoring its old bombed-out La Scala was rebuilt i only two years after World War II. In Petruzelli Theater is still undergoing rebuilding begun in 1991. It was burned down by order of organizedcrime bosses under murky circumstances: Either they were unhappy the Teatro Massimo has been Indeed, reconstruction of La closed for renovations for 25 years, due to unfulfilled contracts let to

It is perhaps hard for Americans, whose nation predates La Fenice by exactly the way it looked when it only a few years, to realize how tightly woven into the fabric of a city in overa house can be.

The theater was the product of a orideful whim of the city fathers. Venice, which then stood at the



ITALY/The Washington Post 17

shrinking population PHOTOGRAPH: STEWART KENDALL

cline brought about by altered trade

The Portuguese end-run around Africa three centuries before undermined Venice's place as maritime gateway to the East. The discovery with their take of renovation con- of America provided fertile new to commerce by attracting high- sign," said sculptor Marco Le wanted a cut of insurance money. Ocean that had nothing to do with

tion alarmed kingdoms throughout Europe, and in Venice's case, the self-satisfied rule by oligarchical nobility. Still, if the 1,000-year-old Venetian Republic was not what it was, it could still be grand: La Fenice was designed to be a symbol of an immortal Venice, a phoenix perpetually rising out of the ashes.

Only six years later, Napoleon's lic and its island capital. The last act

stretched inland into Italy, already | of Venice's demoralized leadership suffered from a slow economic de- | was to organize an opera at La Fenice to entertain the French interlopers. The theater burned down in 1836, but was rebuilt in a year.

Venice later came into Austrian hands and then became part of the unified Italian Republic during the 19th century. Yet the city's grandeur made it a kind of European capital Donizetti and Verdi operas debuted at La Fenice (Verdi's "La Traviata" Rumblings of the French Revolu- was badly received, to the everlasting embarrassment of Venetians). Famed conductors made a habit of performing there; the new opera season was to open in March with Mozart's "Don Giovanni."

> "La Fenice was one place where Venetians went more than tourists. said Davide Samueli, owner of an art store near the theater, "We Venetians are accustomed to walk among buildings and know they are forever. Now, we are shaken.

Make the most of your UK Property Letting

It's surprising how many people see their UK property income decimated by the taxman.

Unfortunately, it's all too easy to fall into one or more of the many "tax-traps" - and suffer payment delays and reduced rental receipts as a result.

The costly tax-traps include -

- Registering the property in the wrong name
- Failing to claim all allowances and reliefs
- Delaying appeals against assessments
- Losing the benefit of Mortgage Interest Relief at Source
- Incurring unnecessary Capital Gains Tax



Head Office: Crescent House, Crescent Road, Worthing, Sussex, BN11 1RN, England. Tel: Worthing (01903) 231545 Telex: 87614. Fax: (01903) 200868. Offices in Exeter. The Fry Group regularly writes on tax matters

The Fry Group for leading expatriate publications:

Wasting the benefits of independent taxation

Falling foul of the complicated residence rules which determine UK tax status

The Fry Group, established in 1898, has already helped over 200,000 people to minimise their tax liabilities - and we are the market leader in advising expatriate landlords how to avoid the "tax-traps".

For a copy of our special leaflet and a free initial review to identify how we can help you, please return the coupon below.

	Ltd, Crescent House, Crescent Road,
To: Wilfred T. Fry	Ma, Olescem Londo,
Woxthing, Sussex	3N11 1RN, England.

Please send me a copy of your special leaflet for expatriate landlords and details of your advisory service.

Name Address

Date of intended return to UK

GW 2/96 .

19 B 45 E 143 St.

444

The First Lady Knows Best

Douglas J. Besharov IT TAKES A VILLAGE And Other Lessons Children Teach Us By Hillary Rodham Clinton Simon & Schuster, 318pp, \$20

HIS IS a marvelously conceived book, seamlessly in gether, usually dinner." terweaving warmly revealing anecdotes about Hillary Rodham to parents, the findings of dozens of endless enumeration of her priori-applying that knowledge.

than that we collectively improve parental rights in child-abuse cases, dren. People who know her only | recipients. ceives will be surprised at the por- book is found in its title, It Takes A | Cuomo's "We Are Family" speech to | fend many readers.

- she comes out for "quantity cause "children will thrive only if struggle). Most parents (and chil- policy prescriptions. time." not just "quality time" - and to preserve the essentials of family | of society cares enough to provide | life. Even in the White House, she | for them." In the last decade, this says, "Bill, Chelsea, and I try to sit down to at least one meal a day to-

Perhaps it is her "devont" Methodist | adults, and community institutions. Mrs. Clinton intends nothing less | schools, quicker terminations of

And readers will be surprised at | cannot do it all on their own, that phasis on personal responsibility | dren — and that children benefit | and the obligations of parents to take better care of their children. | including the extended family, other \ upbringing, which she describes in the lederal governdivorce laws, dress codes for public | scribe and endorse dozens of them.

the 1984 Democratic Convention), and it will surely be the most controversial aspect of the book. Many people, after all, blame the federal government for the breakdown the neighborhood and the family.

Unfortunately, the book is unlikely to advance Mrs. Clinton's

Mrs. Clinton has advice for parents on everything from how to avoid permissive parenting (she points at age 5 and to a statistically comes out for "authoritative" rather | insignificant 4.6 points at age 15. than "authoritarian" styles) to bedtime stories for children (she cites "Goodnight Moon" and Bible stories), how to choose a child care center (avoid one that gives jigsaw puzzles and crayons to infants, but they are O.K. for toddlers) and the proper size of meat portions at dinner (no larger than a "deck of cards"). It's amazing how many pointers she squeezes in, although she gets a few wrong (many experts fear that getting a child to eat by pretending the spoon is an airplane struggling to be an involved mother Mrs. Clinton says she chose be- can escalate into a greater power them as reasons for ignoring her their families thrive and if the whole | dren) would benefit from her a vice. The only question is whether

there is too much of it. In seeming to have an opinion on just about every element of childrearing, she runs the risk of being considered a national name - especially when she seems to endorse a having family and friends "consistently and firmly fremindl an expectant mother to forgo an alcoholic drink or a digarette." Her unter i insie helded that be tilter usear

A far greater weakness is her tendency to exaggerate the effective we need to do a much better job of tive: no sex before age 21, tougher in this book she finds room to de ness of specific programs, which undercuts the force of her policy This idea of a national village is prescriptions. At the same time, her quite a stretch (although it finds | palpable impatience with those who the way the nation raises its chil- and mandatory work for welfare echoes as far back as Beatrice disagree with her and her failure to Webb's writings on Fabian social- address their objections with reafrom the political coverage she re- But the primary message of the sim and as recently as Mario soned arguments will probably of-

she wholeheartedly endorses have documented shortcomings, wellknown in the academic community. In one particularly egregious case, Mrs. Clinton describes how, by age 3, the Abecedarian preschool project in Chapel Hill, N.C., raised IOs trol group's. She goes on to say, "Even more significant than these impressive gains is their durability: the differences in IQ persisted . As the children got older, the gap between the experimental and control groups narrowed to 7.6 10

surely - and justifiably - focus on

Nevertheless, I came away from

Maybe Mrs. Ointon is too much

oft it she tool, a tougher look at her favorite social programs, But there is no denvine her basic point; Chil-I dren need a good start in life, and too many aren't getting one.

sees the opportunities as brightest (ironically) in Turkey, despite the intensity of the state's opposition to Kurdish separatists. Pressures from Europe for democratization, and concern that the creation of a Kurdish diaspora in

make compromise more likely. McDowall blames the confin-

One need not agree with McDowall on every point of interpretation to recognize that this book provides the best single narrative history of the Kurds and their movements in one place in the English language. It supplements and in some cases may replace more specialized works on individual Kurdish movements: it certainly belongs on the shelf of anyons interested in the Middle East today, or in the future of Turkey, Iraq and Iran — and of course

CCORDING to the White House, Mrs. Clinton's manuscript was vetted by many people, including the president and senior members of her staff (on their own time). That such mistakes remained is a meta-phor for why so many of the policies proposed by her in the administration's first two years fared so poorly. In the months to come, some reviewers (and not l just her political enemies) will

this book liking Hillary Rodham Clinton. Even as I was trustrated by her failure to subject her policy beliefs to critical examination. I was taken by her carnestly expressed concern to children and commitment to her own tamily. How can one parent not like another who

February 18 1998

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Le Monde

Egyptian MPs try to rein in Islamists

Alexandre Bucclanti in Cairo

HE Islamic fundamentalists do A not give up easily. One of their leading figures in Egypt, the former member of parliament Sheikh Yussef al-Badri, intends to challenge the legality of a new law, introduced last week, aimed at protecting people against "intellectual terrorism". The law places restrictions on plaintiffs who take out legal proceedings in the name of the hizba.

Based on the notion that it is the duty of every Muslim "to prescribe what is fitting and forbid what is reprehensible", the hizba authorises any individual to go to court in defence of the Muslim community.

That has been the principle invoked by a syndicate of Islamist lawyers led by Al-Badri when suing intellectuals whom they accuse of having "struck a blow at Islam",

They notched up their biggest success when they brought an action against Professor Nasr Abu Zeid for "apostasy", so as to invalidate his marriage to his Muslim wife (no Muslim woman can be married to an apostate). The appeal court ruled in the syndicate's favour and ordered the couple to separate.

The final ruling on the case, now before the supreme court of appeal, IS EXPECTED ON ECO. meantime, fearing the ire of Muslim extremists (who have already murdered the anti-fundamentalist writer Farag Foda), the professor and his wife have moved to the Netherlands.

Al-Badri recently announced that | when personal status is involved. he was also going to take out proceedings, on the same grounds, cases through the state prosecutor's the novelist Naguib Mahfouz, win- ther to dismiss the case or bring it to

Denouncing what he described as | plaintiff's only recourse is to refer "a threat against thought and liberties in general". Mahfouz had al- | whose decision is final. Although he legislation that would outlaw such Ali Fathel Bab, the only Islamist through parliament on January 29 as a result of a personal intervention by President Hosni Mubarak, stipulates that private individuals are no longer entitled to take their cases directly inises the principle of the hizba,

charged with murdering 10 men in an anti-government campaign which had fallen out of use since the abrogation of sharia courts in 1955.

Mohammad Said al-Ashmawi, for Plaintiffs must now channel their example, argues that parliament against 40 intellectuals, including office, the only body authorised ei- should simply have banned all lawsuits based on the hizba, which is court. In the event of dispute, the cited not only in cases of personal status but also in criminal courts. That is something the film-maker the matter to the attorney general, Youssef Chahine discovered to his cost: although he initially won his has reservations about the new law. case when accused of "striking a

Booked . . . One of 32 Islamists arrives at Cairo court last week.

cautious backing because, he says, the appeal court. Other films, and indeed some actors, are the subject of Several liberal intellectuals have court actions on the same grounds. criticised the law because it recog-

member of parliament, has given it

Mothers continue to look after their sons even when they have got

(February 3)

mothers to wash," says Saouter.

wanted to find out exactly what role | the stadium, where they are not only | of grouples. They get scant respect | has no drinking water or properly times nickname them "doorbells" (you only need to ring at their door

(February 6)

Miners in Ukraine fight for a better life

Natalie Nougayrède in Donetsk

USSIAN miners suspended their strike on February 3, but their Ukrainian colleagues are pursuing their industrial action, which began on February 1. Trade union sources say 400,000 miners are still out.

The Kiev government refuses to negotiate with the strikers on the grounds that it has to conform with instructions from the International Monetary Fund as regards its monetary policy. Some 30 mines in the Donets Basin (Donbas) in eastern Ukraine are threatened with closure as part of a restructuring plan proposed by the IMF.

When miners in the Donbas get and the slogan: "Coal is the bread of industry." When they demonstrate, they do so in Donetsk's Lenin Square, in front of a statue of Lenin.

The Donbas is in the grips of a "proletarian protest movement". Locals still call each other tovarish, not out of habit but out of conviction, and because, as a toothless old miner explained, "the class struggle has got going again"

The Donbas miners are on strike because salaries (about \$100

As one furious trade unionist said at a meeting: "In what civilised country do miners go to work on an empty stomach?" All those who had crammed into the hall nodded agreement. It will not be long before the tins of tomatoes and sauerkraut. dried fish, gherkins and pots of jam made by miners' wives last summer will start running out.

Another trade unionist. Vassily Khara, railed against the Ukrainian government: "We'll bring them to their knees! It'll be like 1989." He was alluding to the massive strikes by Soblow at Islam" with his film The viet miners that proved fatal to Immigrant, the matter is now before Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroika. The hall resounded to enthusinstic whistles. But, as the meeting broke up, someone muttered: "It's we who are on our knees."

Behind Donetak's largest slag heap and rows of huts with plumes of smoke from coal stoves rising from their chimneys is the Petrovskoe mine, one of the largest in this huge coalfield. It was built a century ago, state of its surrounding walls, its insalubrious showers, and the sinister entrance to the pit, which is lit by a

The miners often look 10 or 15 years older than they are. They stand and their teeth in a sorry state.

They work 600m below ground, offers a meagre menu of cabbage. getic babushkas' mops cannot make presentable.

In 1939, Petrovskoe's 'Stakhanovite" miners broke productivity records in honour of Alexei Stakhanov, who came from the Donbas. Today the trucks and picks lie idle, and the only zealots are the strike committee members, who spend their time engaged in debate or in games of chess.

Anatoly Gerevich, who has spent 15 of his 40 years at the pit, curses the market economy: "Take any businessman. The sausage he sells belongs to us. His shop belongs to us. But the sullcase stuffed with cash belongs to him."

"We used to live in a rich and well-respected country. Now we're citizens of a banana republic!" say the strikers. They regret the passtogether to discuss their strike, they | ing of the USSR, which they say do so beneath a portrait of Lenin | made them who they are - one man is half-Russian and half-Tatar, the next half-Lithuanian and half-Cossack, and so on.

Ukrainian independence has brought them nothing but trouble. The one exception is that "at least our sons weren't sent to Cheche-

The miners are convinced that their Russian counterparts have "an easier life" because they get paid three times more, and because

their government listanc to the Valery Sipalo, who lives in a dark and dank two-room flat, says he certainly needs his salary but also demands "self-respect". After 30 years at the coal face, he had a heart attack. Despite that, he went back to work at the mine, like many pensioners: he could not make ends meet with his disability benefit, "worth the equiva-

lent of 15 lemons at market" "At the hospital I saw private boutiques selling very expensive medicines on the ground floor, while sick miners were dying on the floor above because they weren't getting treatment," he says.

In 1995, accidents resulted in the death of 339 miners in Ukraine, a death rate four times higher than in Russia, and 100 times higher than in the United States. According to trade union sources, one Ukrainian miner dies for every 250,000 tonnes of coal produced.

Thousands of young miners in the Donbas have already left the mining industry in disgust. Sasha, a 24-yearold former miner, regularly travels to Moscow to buy Russian translations of US puip fiction books and sell them back in Donetsk. Many of his friends work on building sites in Russia. The mafia likes to import cheap but well-qualified Ukrainian The most characteristic manifes- slightly stooped in their greasy labour. They build the dachas of tation of the wives' "widowhood" is boiler suits. Their voices are throaty the Russian nouveaux riches." Sasha

Vladimir has become a taxi dri hacking away at the coal face in gal- | ver. He waits for customers in front leries only 1m high, sometimes of the Miner Hotel, not far from the Wives are rarely allowed to join | without emergency oxygen 're- | stadium that is the home ground of in such revelries. The only female serves. Their mouths and lungs are the local football team, the prestipresence which is tolerated is that | clogged with coal dust. The mine | gious Shakhtjor [Miher] Donetsk. He has adorned his dashboard with from the the players, who some- equipped dispensary. The canteen an old 100-rouble note bearing a portrait of Lenin and, next to it. potatoes and the occasional meat- photo of an American pin-up girl --"because one has to try to look on the bright side of things". (February 8)

A.

A Stubborn Minority That Refuses to Go Away

Michael Collins Dunn A MODERN HISTORY OF THE

By David McDowall I.B. Tauris, 451pp. \$35

THE END OF the Cold War 1 saw the emergence of an independent Armenia, and now there is a Palestinian National Authority as well. Thus two of the Middle Eastern peoples who found themselves excluded from statehood in the settlement after World War I are enjoying some degree of self-determination. But one large Middle Eastern ethnic group with aspirations towards statehood — the Kurds — still finds itself denied

The Kurdish issue never really but they are divided themselves. goes away. In Turkey the Kurdish insurgency continues to undermine the stability of the Turkish state, which in response has turned much of eastern Turkey into an occupied zone. In | major Sufi brotherhoods), by northern Iraq, Iraqi Kurds enjoy | tribal alleglance, by dialects of the greatest autonomy they have Kurdish, and, of course, by the ever been able to achieve (under | boundaries of modern nation the protection of the West), but the two major Kurdish factions fight fiercely against one other. Though less active recently, Iran's Kurds continue to be a

thorn in the side of the Tehran regime. The Kurds represent substantial minorities in Iraq. Turkey and Iran; there are smaller minorities in Syria and Armenia, and a Kurdish diaspora has apread throughout much of the Arab world and into Western Europe.

The nature of the Kurdish question is such that almost no statement one makes goes unchallenged. How many Kurds are there altogether? (Twentyfive million? Many more?) What percentage of the population do they represent in each country? (The Turkish number is a particularly sensitive question with the Turks.) It is clear enough that the Kurds are a major people. They are divided by religion (there are Sunni and Shii Kurds, Kurds who follow the Yazidi and other minor sects, and the Sunni Kurds are divided between two states. These divisions have made it difficult for the various Kurdish movements in Middle

Eastern countries to unite

forces: On the contrary, their

opponents have often been able to pit one Kurdish faction against another in classic divideand-rule strategy.

African proverb has become a cliché

in child-development circles. Ex-

perts use it to mean that parents

they need support in raising chil-

from many non-parental influences.

Reference works dealing with the Kurds have suffered from the same divisions. They are usually written by specialists on the politics of Turkey, Iraq or Iran, and deal competently with the Kurdish movements in each country, without depicting the broader Kurdish forest. Some have been scholarly investigations of a single movement or incident. For general references dealing with the Kurds as a whole, there has been little indeed, especially in English. One of the exceptions to the lack of general works was a solid, brief, work, The Kurds, written by David McDowall.

NTOW, McDowall has published a substantial Modern History Of The Kurds, It is competent and comprehensive and fills a much-felt need. While thoroughly researched and footnoted, it is written as a readable narrative history, not a scholarly

trentise for specialists. McDowall deals with the three major Kurdish struggles — in Turkey, Iraq and Iran — in detail

and in historical context. This should become the standard history of these Kurdish movements in English, McDowall deals briefly with carlier Kurdish history and the continuities of Kurdish society and political organization, before beginning his detailed narrative in the middle of the last century, when the Kurds were divided between the Ottoman Empire and Qajar iran, but not yet so fragmented among nation states as today. He carries his narrative, which deals with each of the major Kurdish movements but never loses sight of a broader, pan-Kurdish perspective, down to

the post-Gulf War period. McDowall does not hide his sympathies for the Kurds. This is not a book to please the authorities in Ankara, Baghdad and Tehran. But neither is it merely a polemic in support of Kurdish nationalism. In his concluding chapter, "Retrospect and Prospect," McDowall notes that while Kurdish nationalism may have made little progress towards an independent pan-Kurdish state, by the 1990s it had undermined the Kemalist ideology of Turkey and the Arab nationalism of Baathist Iraq. He

western Turkey may be more destabilizing than providing more autonomy to the Kurds in eastern Turkey, combine to

uing influence of tribally organized traditional society for many of the problems the Kurds have faced in building a real national movement. Certainly the Kurds' own internal divisions have been much exploited by their enemies, and his own historical narrative displays the consequences vividly.

Life's no ball for the 'rugger widows'

Michèle Aulagnon

♣ the preferred sport is rugby rather than football, players' wives are known as "rugger widows". This | "Rugby is a man's sport, which | married. "Almost all players told me | solitary, low-wattage lightbulb. what is known as "the third half" —

house or a restaurant. Anne Saouter, a researcher at the Centre of Anthropology in Toulouse, purely male game — at least that is what most rugby players claim", she notes in an article in a special issue of steam. It is quite common to hear for them to open up) or "Aids" ball in premises that even the enerthe review Terrain, Carnets du Petri- them hurling insults at the referee. traps". moine Ethnologique, devoted to and there have been legendary

sport. She concludes that women | scenes of women jabbing the points are tolerated in the world of rugby of their umbrellas at players who N SOUTHWEST France, where | players only if they conform to one | have been nasty to their "lads". or other of two archetypes: the mother or the whore.

is because they are expected to does not involve women, and they still gave their togs to their make considerable sacrifices for especially not during the 'third their husbands. Rugby is a game | half'," writes Saouter, who decided | that requires players to devote a not to include women's rugby in her great deal of their time to training survey. When trying to justify the the "third half". During this usually sessions and matches, as well as exclusion of their wives, players say very boozy meal, the players relive things like: "They always cause the game, indulge in a good deal of post-match joilification in the club- trouble" or "They might ruin ribaldry."

However, women do have a special women played in rugby. It is "a admitted but welcomed But they are allowed only on the terraces.

everything."

Mothers are allowed to let off

HE Uranja restaurant near Skopje's main sports stadium has become a favourite haunt whose atmosphere blends perfectly with the tennis courts next door, stylish waiters wearing stamped-velvet waistcoats are poised to rush up with a mobile telephone at the slightest sign from one of the diners mostly business people negotiating

On that particular day, the president of the Macedonian Chamber of Commerce and his colleagues were having drinks with their Croat opposite numbers to celebrate the successful resumption of trade between their two once-federated republics.

biscuit factory was having lunch Great) to one with eight rays. At the next table, the boss of a with his Serbian competitor — and future partner. There was no need for interpreters, as everyone was using the common language of the defunct Federal Republic of Yugo ` slavia: Serbo-Croat.

Four years after becoming independent, Macedonia, a small republic of 2 million inhabitants hemmed in by Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece and Albania, is now trying to emerge from its isolation by rebuilding the ties that were shattered by the con-' flict in the Balkans.

Macedonia escaped the theatre of war, but was crippled by a double embargo that turned it virtually into a besieged city over a period of several ockage cut off Macedonia's main supply route via the port of

Thessaloniki breaches in the stranglehold were via Bulgaria, which is linked to Macedonia by a dilapidated road and rail network, or via Albania, which was used only as

an emergency solution. Since the autumn of 1995, Macedonia seems to have succeeded in getting things moving again. Its transition to a market economy and its programme of economic stabilisation have begun to bear fruit.

iation with Greece, which had previously fallen on deaf ears, finally resulted in September in the beginning of a normalisation of relations between Athens and Skopje.

Then, on October 15, Greece de cicled to lift the embargo that had been throttling the Macedonian economy for more than a year and a half in exchange for two concesin the Macedonian constitution whereby Macedonia kept a close eye on "the situation and rights of citizens of Macedonian origin in neighbouring countries" — should be struck out, and that Macedonia should agree to change its national flag from a yellow sun with 16 rays against a red background (the syntbol of Philip II and Alexander the

Macedonia itself, which the Greeks regard as an integral part of their historical and cultural heritage, was also the subject of negotiations. The signing of the Dayton ac-

cords in November resulted in the lifting of trade sanctions against Belgrade. Those sanctions, given that almost 50 per cent of Macedonia's trade used to be with Serbia and Montenegro, had resulted in an estimated loss of more than \$4 billion, which was only partially offset by the blossoming of a contraband

Western diplomats in Skopje feel there are now grounds for optimism 1996. The stabilisation programme carried out by the government has made it possible to curb inflation, to begin restructuring the economy and to lay the foundations for a

The state-run stores, stark and poorly stocked during the first few \ (10 per cent of the total population). years of independence, have been turned into private shops jampacked with imported goods, which

\$200 a month. It is true that economic reforms | smarting under its double embargo,



Spice of life . . . A market seller in the Albanian quarter of the Macedonian capital, Skopje

national currency, the denar (whose value has been pegged to the Deutschmark for the past 18 months), and to bring the annual in-

But the social cost has been high. GDP per inhabitant is \$800, or half what it was in 1989, and industrial output has fallen by 50 per cent over the same period. And on top of Macedonia's 200,000 jobless (30 per cent of the population of working age) there are 200,000 pensioners

"There is no turning back. We have to continue the reforms." says Macedonia's young prime minister, most Macedonians cannot afford Branko Crvenkovski. Looking at because their average salary is only the economic figures for 1995, a year when Macedonia was still

have made it possible to steady the | government sources expect to see a 2.6 per cent increase in output in 1996 and a rise in GDP of between 2 The privatisation programme

-launched in 1993 is now white find has been effected by staff or management buyouts. It is a system that the government regards as the quickest method of privatisation. but it does not inject the capital required for business to grow. There has been sharp criticism in

the press of the unfair way in which state-owned enterprises have been turned into joint-stock companies in a poor country like Macedonia, where a bandful of people, through a simple paper transaction, can become ownwithout having shelled out a penny. "I'm worried we may see a clique in power gradually taking control of

being amassed amidst a sea of , poverty," says Vladimir Milcin, president of the Soros Foundation in) Skopje, "I cannot agree with the) government when it declares that all the dangers confronting Macedonia have been averted." Recovery will depend to a large extent on the government's skill at ,

restructuring the economy, stabilising the banking system and the publie sector, and privatising farming co-operatives, which should be set in motion during 1996. The last will not pose much of a problem, since 82 per cent of land was already privately owned before independence.

The country will also need foreign capital. For that to be forthcoming, a stable political situation will have to be restored in the region.

PTO now, foreign investors have not been particularly keen to move into Macedonia, and the number of joint ventures can be counted on the fingers of one hand. The reopening of the northsouth road connection should make things easier for a country that now, conducts 70 per cent of its trade with , the European Union and Slovenia (as compared with 35 per cent before independence).

But it will take time for Macedonia's exports to become more competitive, particularly as its "natural" trading partners are holding back above all Greece, because of political considerations, but also Serbia and Montenegro, for economic reasons.

Although the new rump Yugoslavia is prepared to recognise Macedonia and wants to sign an economic co-operation agreement with it as soon as possible. Belgrade has been hard hit by sanctions and the war effort and can offer only a very lingitt whatever the future holds, Macedonia fully intends to take advantage of its geopolitical location. which served it so badly during its first years of independence.

Maccdonia is a crossroads of prime importance in southeast Europe, and an inevitable transit point between the Black Sea and the Adriatic, and between the Acgean and the Danube, "For all those reasons," says a US diplomat in Skopje, "it has every chance of becoming an economic platform. However, it's not its market of 2 million inhabitants that will interest foreign capital, but its strategic position in the region."

(February 4/5)

GUARDIAN WEEKLY February 18 1998

Cranfield

School of Management

Managing Enterprise Development

A relevant and practical training course specifically designed to improve the managerial effectiveness and understanding of NGO staff who run programmes designed to promote small business and who work closely with micro enterprise

14 April to 10 May 1996

Finance for Enterprise

NGOs are increasingly involved in running credit and loans schemes. This programme will equip staff with the skills to run sustainable and cost effective credit schemes and will examine alternative way of financing small scale enterprise.

12 May to 7 June 1996

Further information from Jenny Wheeley, International Development Centre, Cransield School of Management, Cransield, Bedford, England MK+3 UAL. Tel: +44 (0) 1234 751122. Fax: +44 (0) 1234 754420. Email j.wheelerg.cranfield.ac.uk

UNIVERSITY OF DUNDEE Department of Civil Engineering

Concrete Technology Unit ONE LECTURESHIP (Ref:EST/34/56/G) TWO POSTDOCTORAL RESEARCH/TEACHING FELLOWSHIPS

(Ref:EST/35/56/G) The Concrete Technology Unit is a leading research centre in the area of concrete science, technology and construction. There is a need for new sinff to undertake innovative, industrially relevant research projects. We would like to appoint:

(i) A Lecturer, initially for 3 years, who can thrive and develop through challenge. The successful candidate will be expected to undertake and supervise research and possess a Phi) and relevant experience. (ii) Two Research/Teaching Fellows, initially for 2 years, with a

Candidates for all north thought relevant disciplines; Civil Engineering, Materials Science, Inorganic Chemistry or Geology/Geochemistry.

Arrangements for informal discussions can be made with Professor F K Dhir (Tel 01382 344347, email r.k.dhir@dundee.ac.uk). Salary for post (i) will be within the range £16,628 - £21,519 and for post (ii) within the range £15,154 - £19,848.

CV (3 copies), complete with the names and addresses of 3 referees, should be sent to Personnel Services, University of Dundee, Dundee, DD1 4HN, Tel (01382) 344015. Further Particulars are available for this post. Please quote the

appropriate reference number. Closing date: 5 March 1996, The University exists to promote higher education and research and is un equal opportunities employer

FREELANCE JOURNALISM AND CREATIVE WRITING COURSES BY DISTANCE LEARNING THE LONDON SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM

JGW, 22 Upbrook Mews. Bayswater London W2 3HG Tel: +44(0)171 706 3790 Fax: +44(0)171 706 3780 Email: Info@lsjournalism.com 921 75 years of maching sources of this

Christian Aid

we believe in life before death

Christian Aid is the development agency of 40 churches working to strengthen the poor in 60 countries worldwide. We work with the poor through their own local organisations and through advocacy in Europe,

PROGRAMME DEVELOPMENT OFFICER Herat, Afghanistan £18,655 per annum

We need a self motivating individual or job sharing couple, experienced in managing people and resources and a minimum of 2 years relevant experience in the south (preferably in conflict area).

You will be able to support Afghan NGOs both in identifying programmes for funding and in their training and organisational development. Your role will include recruiting and managing a small team of local staff. People with an understanding of social and political aspects of Islam are particularly welcome to apply.

One year contract, with possibility of extension. Closing date: 4 March Interview date: 13 or.:15.March

For further details and an application form, write to Personnel Department, Christian Ald, PO Box 100; London SE1 7RT or fax on 0171-620 0719,

Prospectus from UK representative officer EBS Offices (QUW), P.O. Box 400 Peterberough PB2 6GD U.K. Tale/Paxx +44 (0) 1733 239923

The University of Reading Agricultural Extension and Rural Development Department (AERDD) Two Lecturers (A or B)

A Two lecturers are required to contribute to the AERDE'S A expanding programme of teaching, research and consultancy activities. They are likely to have established records of research and publication, and/or to have held management ar training responsibilities in an overseas setting. Duties will a include supervision of research students and teaching, both on postgraduate courses and on short courses in Reading and overseas, as well as overseas consultancy assignments. For appropriate quantitative and qualitative research methods, would be an advantage. For the other post, applicants should ! have expertise in the management of rural social / development projects and organisations, gained in the NGO, public or private sectors.

Salary will be in the Grade A range (£15,154 - £19,848 per annum) or Grade B range (£20,677 - £26,430) with USS benefits. One of the posts will be offered on a five year contract in the first instance. The other post will be offered / on a three year fixed term contract

For an informal enquiry about the positions, contact Professor Chris Carforth, telephone: (01734) 318119, fax: (01734) 318231 or e-mail: c.j.garforth@reading.ac.uk

Apply for further particulars and Application Forms copies) to the Personnel Office. The University of Reading, Whiteknights, P.O. Box 217, READING RG6 6AH Telephone: (01734) 316771 (answerphone). e-mail: Personnel @reading.ac.uk giving name and full address.
Closing date: 22 March 1996. Please quote reference: AC9601

A centre of excellence for university teaching and research.



MSc/Diploma in Social Research Methods (and Statistics)

An exciting modular multidisciplinary Masters to equip you for a career in social research or a PhD. To be awarded an MSc you complete ten taught modules and a dissertation. Six of the modules are compulsory covering qualitative and quantitative methodology. The remaining four modules are selected from a range of options covering social policy research, demography secondary analysis, psychometrics and statistical modelling. Taught modules are timetabled on Wednesdays and Fridays from 10am to 5pm.

The course can be completed in one year, full-time, or two years part-time. Individual modules can be attended as short courses. The programme has been awarded the highest possible rating for research training by the ESRC.

Social Statistics Research Unit

For further information: Georgina Dowling, Social Statistics Research Unit, City University, Northampton Square, London EC1V 0HB. Telephone: 0171 477 8491/8497/8488, fax 0171 477 8583. Email:gd@ssru.city.ac.uk. Please quote ref: G/2/96. Teaching and research excellence in London

APPOINTMENTS/COURSES 21

Regional Programme Manager PACIFIC & CARIBBEAN

Based in London, you will be the line manager for Field Directors in 7 offices in your region, overseeing volunteer administration and programme development. Applicants must have experience of working in developing countries and staff management.

Knowledge of NGOs and volunteers in development is desirable. Starting salary: £23,169. Closing date: 8th March 1996.

Por further details and an application form, please contact:

藤 FAIRFAX

• ini. Home Study degree programs

Crecilis for prior learning/experience

BA, MBA, PhD elc programa in

most subjects

· Entry any time

UNIVERSITY (USA)

VSO Personnel Department on 0181-780 1342 (24hrs). VSO aims to be an equal opportunities employer

Regional Director East, Central & Southern Africa

c £24,000 + Pension (Assumed to be tax free for UK residents)

4-year contract - effective June/July 1996

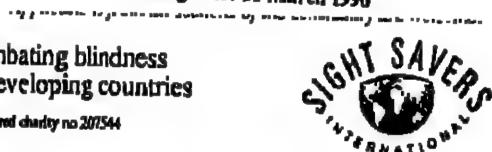
Presently based in Nairobi, the Regional Director will work closely with partner organisations and governments throughout the region. She/he will manage an interdisciplinary team of specialist staff working in the field of eye care and the education and rahabilitation of blind and visually

The successful candidate will plan and manage an annual programme budget of over £1million, allocated to projects throughout East, Central and Southern Africa.

Applicants will need a managerial background in the development field, analytic skills, diplomacy and a proven ability to lead and inspire a talented team. A relevant degree and field experience are essential. If you feel you can match our requirements, send a large sae for application pack to: Personnel Manager, Sight Savers International, Grosvenor Hall, Bolnore Road, Haywards Heath, West Sussex, RH16

Closing date: 11 March 1996

Combating blindness in developing countries Registered charley no 207544



St CHRISTOPHER

A SCHOOL WITH A LONGTERM COMMITMENT TO OVERSEAS FAMILIES

At St Christopher School we have boarders from 8 to 18 from a wide range of cultural and national backgrounds. Our long experience helps us make a caring and supportive homelife for such boys and girls. Overseas parents are represented on our well established Parents' Committee.

The School has been fully co-educational, boarding and vegetarian since 1915. Our campus has the informal almosphere of a friendly village. Younger boarders live in family style houses with Houseparents and with breakfast, tea and supper taken in the boarding house. 6th Formers have student rooms.

We aim at good work and high ideals with lots of fun in the process. A full and challenging curriculum leads to 16 GCSE and 19 A Level courses with equal emphasis on arts and science. There are excaptional facilities for art, music, drama, computing and adventure training. We encourage self-confidence by valuing each child as an Individual. Entry considered at most levels from age 8 - 16

For more details, contact Susan Mellor, Admissions Secretary Tel: 01462 679301 Fax: 01462 481678 St Christopher School Latchworth, Herts SQ6 3JZ 1 mile from A1(M), 35 minutes from Kings Cross The School is an Educational Charity

> UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS

POSTGRADUATE STUDY The Department of Linguistics offers a number of opportunities for postgraduate study.

The one year MSo course in SPEECH AND LANGUAGE PROCESSING teacher Inter alla, PHOLOG programming, computational linguistics and speech recognition For this course, the department tree a quote of EPSRO edvent ed course studentships, for which British/EC Honours graduated of equivalent aid bilgible. The Department offere RESEARCH DEGREES at M.Ec., M.Litt. and FhD. levels in Linguistics and interdisciplinary areas; details on request. Applicants for these should have good honours degrees (or equivalent) in linguistics or a related area. The Department is aligible for ESRC and British Academy Studentships (UK and EC applicants). For more information and application forms, contact Mrs. E. Jack, Department of Lingistics, University of Edinburgh, AFB, George Squere, Edinburgh EHS 9LL. Tel:0131-650-8961

e-mailiadmissions@ling.ed.so.uk. WWW: http://www.ling.ed.so.uk/ APPLICATIONS DEADLINE: 15 March for October entry.

19 =

Afghan warlord vows to battle on against 'foreign' foes **Bruno Philip** meets

Ahmed Shah Massoud his stronghold, Jabel Saral

HE HERO of the resistance L against the Red Army and the military leader in the Afghan capital, Kabul, since the fall of the communist regime, Ahmed Shah Massoud, soud's troops succeeded in pushing ble together deals with several of his problem of the Taliban remains," he clearly feels that nothing much has the Taliban back into the hills surchanged since the Soviet troops left. "I'm 100 per cent certain that my war is a just war," he says. "It's exactly the same situation as when the Soviets | hour's drive from Kabul. His office | whose forces he has clashed in were here: the Afghans are rising up against foreign interference."

His forces may be in power in peaks of the Hindu Kush. Kabul and in a handful of provinces. but the Islamic fundamentalist militias known as the Taliban still occupy the area around the capital, with, Massoud claims, the military and political support of neighbour- rior tone when stating what he re- faction, Hizbe Islami, he says, "I'm ing Pakistan.

He argues that the Taliban are a creation of Pakistan's interior minis- launch a new offensive against There can be no doubt that once

ter, Naseerullah Babar, and its mili- | Kabul," he says. At the same time, | Hekmatyar had been driven out of in the war a year ago, taking control | much more by waging war, because of the Pathan provinces in the south. with hardly a shot being fired, and | the trust of people in the provinces" neutralising the traditional parties

rounding the capital. is in the military barracks, which

though he has been fighting for 15 | Massoud says. years. He still has the same warm same intense eyes, the same supe-

gards as the truth. The Taliban are preparing to how our discussions will turn out.

they haven't succeeded in winning

The whole country is now against the Taliban, according to Massoud. tance. But Kabul held out, and Mas- This has given him a chance to cob- the Hizbe Wahdat party. "But the unable to eliminate the Taliban. truce with Rashid Dostam, head of. Massoud directs operations from | the Uzbek militia who calls the tune his stronghold in Jabel Saraj, an in the north of the country and with Kabul over a number of months. are overlooked by the snowcapped | "We are both standing our ground | on the Salang Pass, and the road has

His face has scarcely aged, even been reopened to civilian traffic," smile when evading a question, the | din Hekmatyar, the now weakened leader of the extreme fundamentalist | by taking up arms against all those still negotiating and waiting to see | longing a war that had become sec-

tary secret service. The Taliban first he believes his enemies "have come his stronghold south of Kabul by made their mysterious appearance | round to the idea that they can't gain | the Taliban almost a year ago it was in his "objective interest", as Massoud puts it, to make peace. Massoud has also signed "ceasefire agreement" with Karim Khalili, the leader of the Shi'ites in

> offices of a neutral party, and we're awaiting the outcome."

als and renewed alliances between | nist party on the Soviet Union." the rivals who, for a time, rose up as one against the Red Army. The Taliban tried to make out As for his inveterate foe Gulbud- that they would bring a swift end to the chaotic situation in the country

fighters who were obstinately pro-

ular instead of "holy". They failed, which is why Mas-

soud hopes to shock the nation into pulling itself together. He says the war "has been imposed on my courtry by foreign powers". This is a reference to Pakistan, Uzbekistan and other neighbouring states. But for the time being, Massoud

continues to be isolated, since his ally, President Burhanuddin Rabbani, controls only part of the country and because the Kabul army, seems

former enemies. He has signed a says with a sigh. "We have sent defend Kabul first." Massoud says. them emissaries through the good But if the political negotiations fail. we shall take the necessary decisions... The dependence of the Tal-Afghanistan's recent history is lit- iban on Pakistan is even worse than tered with alliances, U-turns, betray- that of the former Afghan commu-

Le Monde

(February 6)

Directeur: Jean-Marie Colombani World copyright by Le Monde, Paris All rights strictly reserved



AGENTS WANTED

Agents Abroad or with good

overseas contacts. Sought by

small established but expanding

English as a Foreign Language

Generous commission offered.

The school offers year round

tuillon at all levels, as well as

summer courses and exam

For details write to:

I.C.S.E

26 Pottergate

Norwich NR2 1DX

Advertisements

It is a condition of acceptance of

advertisement orders that the

proprietors of The Guardian

Weekly do not guarantee the

insertion of any particular

advertisement on a specified

date, or at all, although every

wishes of advertisers; further they

do not accept liability for any loss

or damage caused by an error of

appearance

any advertisement.

inaccuracy in the wrinting or non-

advertisement. They wise reserve

advertisement, edit or delete any

oblectionable wording or reject

Although every advertisement is

carefully checked, occasionally

mistekes on occur. We therefore

ask advertisers to assist us by

checking their advertisements

carefully and advise up

Immediately should an error

occur. We regret that we cannot

accept responsibility for more

than ONE INCORRECT Insertion

and that no republication will be

granted in the case of

The Quardian

the advertisement.

typographical or minor changes

which do not affect the value of

the right to classify correctly any

preparation.

For further details of any of the following staff vacancies please contact the Appointments Department. ACU, 36 Gordon Square, London WC111 OPP, UK (internat. tel. +44 171 813 3024 [24 hour answerphone]; fax +44 171 813 3055; e-mail: appts@acu.ac.uk), quoting reference number of post(s). Details will be sent by airmail/first class post. A sample copy of the publication Appointments in Commonwealth Universities, ag subscription details, is available from the same source.

b.cline allosenpurar access.		RGI' MO-
cluding subscription details niversity	Post	
FRICA AND THE CAR	BBEAN	W44731
	P/AP Primary Education	W44735
OTAWARA	L Law	W44742
otswarm	Courdinator for Development of Nursing	W44750
sots wana	P Home Economics Education	W44751
Botawatta	AP Mathematics Education	W44752
Bolswans	L Physics Education	W44744
Botswana	L/AL Prench	W44745
West Indies (Jamaica)	L Television/Video Production	W44736
West Indies (Jameica)	P/SL Prositeduntics	W44737
West Indies (Trinidad)	SL/L Accounting	W44738
West Indies (Trinidad)	P Human Anaromy	W44739
West Indies (Trinkdad)	L/AL Human Physiology	W44740
West Indies (Trinidad)	DIST Psychiatry	W44741
West Indies (Trinidad)	SLAL Biochemistry/Molecular Biology	
West Indies (Trintdad)		W44754
AUSTRALIA	L Genetics	W44746
Adelaide	Chair to Physiotherapy	W44747
La Trobe (Melbourne)	Chair in Psychology	*******
La Trobe (Melhoume)		W44749
HONG KONG	D Office of Contract & Grant Administration	
Hong Kong UST	AD Centre for Physical Education & Sport	W447.34
Univ. Hong Kong	L Engineering Management	W44748
Univ. Hong Kong	L izuBruceune comme	
NEW ZEALAND	. v. a. Monutetreni	W44753
Oingo (Dunedin)	SI_L Management	
PACIFIC	and all the characters	W44733
South Pacific (Fij1)	SL/L Biology	W44732
South Pacific (Nouru)	Centre Director ctor: AD - Assistant Director; P - Professor, AP - Assis Accepter: AL - Assistant Lectures.	date Professori
D Dies	ctor: AD - Assistant Director, 1 - Lecturer: AL - Assistant Lecturer.	



SCHOOL OF NURSING & MIDWIFERY STUDIES

Chair of Health Studies/Nursing

(Norcen Edwards Chair) £32,000 +

The post will be located within the School and based at Bangor. The successful candidate will play a major role in the implementation of a Nursing Research strategy contributing to the advancement of Nursing Research and Practice at local, national and international levels.

The eppointee will be expected to undertake scholarship and make a major contribution to research through grant acquisition, publication and the supervision of postgraduate students.

Experience in staff development is important, as a primary responsibility will be to develop the research skills of Lecturers throughout

Candidates must hold a doctorate by research in an area of study relevant to nursing, and preferably a professional nursing qualification and have eligibility for registration on the UKCC Register. Informal enquirtes to Mr P.J. Pye, Doan of the Faculty of Health

Studies, tel: (01248) 354036. Please quote reference no: 95/20 when applying. Application forms and further particulars may be obtained by

contacting: Personnel Services, University of Wales, Bangor, Gwynedd LL57 2DG. Tel: (01248) 382926.

Closing date for applications: Friday 15th March 1996. University of Wales, Rangor - Dedicated to Academic Excellence and Committed to Equal Opportunities

Angola needs you!

The 30 year long war in Angola is shoust over. Development Aid from People to People (DAPP) is looking for volunteers to participate in a 14 months international programme to support the peace process in Angola. No special qualifications are needed.

6 months training at The Travelling High School, Lillehammer, Norway. 6 months of solidarity work in Angola. You select a position within one o the following areas:

- Teaching street children in "children's town"
- Improve sanitation conditions in the villages, by building latrines and water cleaning systems.
- Organize vaccination campaigns and start up a vorational school for women.

2 months of project evaluation in Norway, including information work in

You pay the school fees yourself. Start: 1/6 or 15/11. Part 0045 43 99 59 82, DAPP GW, Box 236, 2630 Tastrup, Denmark. The media's forgotten the crisis in Angola. Unfortunately, the children there can't.

FIELD DIRECTOR

£23,331 p.a. + benefits

Other conflicts have edged Angola from the news. Yet the children there still suffer long-term physical and psychological scars from years of war. In the eight years we have been in Angola we have begun to build children a brighter future, through long-term projects in health, community devalopment and child welfare. Unfortunately, fighting over the last few years has made our work there extremely difficult, despite the recent peace negotiations.

Your achievement then will be to develop these programmes in a political situation which is, at best, unpredictable. It is a task which calls for experience, diplomacy and, above all, the determination to make things happen. It is a task which, done properly, will improve the lives of countless children.

Working closely with government and partner agencies, you will be directly responsible for every aspect of our Angola programme. You will develop strategy for these programmes, initiate policy and objectives, and manage all SCF staff and resources in the country. In short, you will ensure SCF's

involvement in Angola is successful. It's a demanding role requiring a rare combination of qualities and significant experience as a senior manager of overseas relief programmes. including a track record in financial, resource and staff management. But it is not enough to be a 'backroom' manager. We expect you to lead by example, visiting and reviewing projects around the country.

For the right person, with either Portuguese, Spanish or Italian we offer a 25 month contract, tax-free salaries, free and fully-equipped living accommodation and a contributory pension scheme. Your first step, however, is to send or fax your CV to Claire Hoffman, Overseas Personnel, 17 Grove Lane, London SE5 8RD. Fax: 0171 793 7610. Closing date: 29th March 1996. SCF aims to be an equal opportunity employer.

Save the Children

Working for a better world for children

Gorilla Fund

Regional Co-ordinator -Development in Rwanda

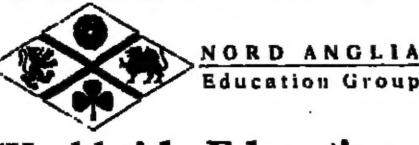
The Dian Fossey Gorilla Fund, an international conservation organisation, seeks a project leader to develop and implement a programme of small-scale development and conservation education projects to help engender a 'conservation culture' in the communities that

adjoin the habitat of the endangered mountain gorillas in Rwanda. The contract position is for two years. Business administration and/or economics qualifications, a good grasp of environmental issues, at least 5 years experience in francophone Africa, plus a practical familiarity with the

region is required. Must have the ability to communicate fully in French and English. Required to be a self-starter, to have strong entrepreneurial, proposal writing and communications skills, administration, financial and cash-flow experience.

Salary commensurate with experience.

To apply, submit cover letter and CV by 23 February 1996 to The Dian Fossey Gorilla Fund, 110 Gloucester Avenue, London NW1 8JA; Fax: +44 (0) 171 722 0928.



Worldwide Education

Nord Anglia Education Group is the largest provider of private education in Britain with: INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE ACADEMIES - year-round English Language courses to suit all needs in Britain, New Zealand and USA.

NORD ANGLIA INTERNATIONAL - vacation courses for groups and individuals throughout Britain, Ireland and USA. Year-round short stay educational tours. ACCESS TO BRITISH EDUCATION AND TRAINING - at the Group's day and boarding schools in Britain, including preparation for University.

> For further details write to: Ewen Mackenzie-Bowie, REF. GW **Nord Anglia Education PLC** 10 Eden Place, CHEADLE, SK8 1AT, UK

Fax: +44 (0)161-491 4409 E-mail: 100532.40@compuserve.com

February 18 1998

Builder of bridges

Derek Worlock

ORE than 50 years dedicated to the Roman Catholic church made Caford hoping to train for the min-Archbishop Derek Worlock of Liv- istry, but instead took to journalism. 76, one of the best known and most | was scarcely the most hopeful | highly respected churchmen of seedbed for such a vocation. The post-war years: he became a Coni- Worlocks were the only Catholics panion of Honour at the New Year, there and had to travel five miles to

church and in society, and he al- of London was at its height. ways struggled to serve those whose real and ordinary lives could place to appointment as personal

that extra mile for what they be friendship and respect. lieved in. He was a perfectionist who put greater store in helping people one of the youngest so appointed, find long-term comprehensive solu- he gradually took on much of the Liverpool. tions to problems than in pandering | work which the ailing Cardinal Grifto passing needs — though this did fin could not do in person. When ond Vatican Council that set the tone gospel.

about his health and the likelihood get into the college of cardinals. of his survival. Both parents were dren. But they brought other influtoral duties were interspersed with

CAR HIRE

ment, and speaking at many gatherings in those pioneering days for

having been confined to the Lour- the nearest Catholic church. Only des Hospital in Liverpool since July, when he was 13 and could persuade Worlock took seriously the new his parents to allow him to attend emphasis on friendliness and good relations with other Christian education. He entered St Edmund's churches after the Second Vatican | College, Ware, in 1933 for the long Council. He also gave a strong lead | years of preparation leading to ordiin drawing attention to the social nation in Westminster Cathedral in problems of his dioceses. The major | 1944. He became a curate in Kenstheme of his work was renewal, in | ington, just as the V1 hombardment |

Though he could seem austere of Westminster, then Cardinal Grifand reserved he was a compassion- (in. The assistance he gave to the ate, caring man who warmed to cardinal, who had ordained him, those willing (as he was) to try to go turned into a relationship of deep

Moving to Stepney in 1964 as a session of the council, he had all converts from the Church of Eng- youthful parish priest, he worked | these renewed principles at his finland at the time of their marriage | with a team of five priests evange- | ger-tips — ready to be implemented and would have guarded carefully lising the homes and families of in his Portsmouth diocese, where he bishop bent on being a reconciler. It the Catholic upbringing of their chil- London's docklands. But these pas- succeeded John Henry King in 1965. ences to bear — politics, journalism | trips to Rome and residual duties at | 44 new churches were opened and public spenking. His father was a local Tory agent and his mother got to know a young Church of newal throughout the diocese. He bottle of wine and a promise of colkeenly supported women's suffrage, England priest called David Shep- had a growing and keen sense of laboration. The partnership that Liverpool, born February 4, 1920; selling newspapers outside Parlia- pard, then at the Mayflower Family | the injustice of poor housing and un- | helped work the "Mersey Miracle" | died February 8, 1996



Derek Worlock gave encouragement to thousands PHOTO DENIS THORPE

Centre, who later became Bishop of | employment, problems of a moral

not blind him to the smaller daily Pope John XXIII called his unex- of Derek Worlock's ministry, and his problems people endured. He was a pected ecumenical council in 1962, style of leadership followed the he said, "what I imagine a divorce Worlock was an obvious and con- council's vision of a church open to must feel like". The painful transichildren. He lost his older brother in retary. In 19 years he was secretary of Peter. Some of the council docuthe second world war along with many of his contemporaries and school friends. His baptism, he said, achievement he referred to with achievement he referred to with cold realistics and a recognition of wife and contributions to be made had been in haste — along with his | characteristic wit as his "Red Hat | gifts and contributions to be made | sister, Patricia — because of doubts | Trick" — though he himself did not | by Christians of other churches. When he became a bishop at the last

not just political nature, whose alle-It was the experience of the Sec- viation was a legitimate part of the

Paul VI to take on board the social and pain. needs of an area with the largest proportion of Catholics and among the weightiest problems of poverty and deprivation in the country.

Vestiges of sectarianism in Liverpool were a challenge to an archwas an immense boon that his very During a decade in Portsmouth | first well-wisher at his new home in

OBITUARY 23

, began then. It was, said Cardinal Hume, borrowing a Mersey quip, a fish and chips partnership: always together and often in the papers.

Later, Archbishop Derek and Bishop David founded the Michaelmas Group, a regular gathering of top local businessmen and heads of industry, to see how partnership could achieve lasting benefits for Merseyside. His firm leadership and his role as honest broker were invaluable in the aftermath of the Toxteth street riots in 1981 and 1985 when he was asked to take the chair at reconciliation meetings between

the police and the community. The man behind all of this was paradoxically rather shy and reserved, though with a limitless capacity for work. He had a knack for giving the right advice, and judging the optimum moment to act or the bon mot to speak. If his perfectionism made him less approachable than some could wish, he was a good listener and a sympathetic pastor.

He did play a crucial part in setting up structures — such as the development of the new "ecumenical" instruments" which established Churches Together in England and the Council of Churches for Britain and Ireland. Yet he knew, and often repeated, that the church was people not structures, committees or buildings. He never lost sight of this truth.

Throughout his life Derek Worlock was affected by indifferent Born in the St John's Wood area stant companion to the English the active participation of laity under tion to the wider responsibilities of allowed to receive special hosts at health. In 1980 he was diagnosed as communion — which was reluc-

> He never liked the idea of retirement, for he had made the Gospel his life's work, and resignation as archbishop would only have meant a shift in focus, a new form of priestly endeavour.

John Furniyai Archbishop's chaplain since 1977

Most Revd Derek John Harford

CLASSIFIED

Csu Rental FROM ESS PER WEEK LOW, LOW PRICES IN GREAT SERVICE FROM A WORLDWIDE

COMPANY # FULLY INCLUSIVE RATES # WIDE RANGE OF VEHICLES # OVER 60 LOCATIONS NATIONWIDE CALL, WRITE OR FAX TO OUR CENTRAL RESERVATIONS TELEPHONE

FACSIMILE 01494 442 110 01494 474 732 lise Michemorn Road figh wycombe bucks. (#1) od i

PAMBER CAR HIRE U.K.: 1940 pt. 144 (0) 1734 442417 FEADING ROAD, WOODLEY, HLADING, HGS 3DB, (AX:+44 (0) 1734 69629 SEND PHONE OR FAX FOR A BROCHBILL TODAY FOR FULL DETAILS. WE MEET YOUR FLIGHT AND YOU CONTINUE YOUR JOHNNEY WITHOUT DELAY! PORD FIESTA £ 90 F FORD SIERRA 1.8 ESTATE £125

B FORD ESCORT 1.4 \$105 Q FORD MONOSO 1.8/2.0 LX MOVER 214 PEVOSOT 405 1.9 OR FORD ESCORT 1.3L SETATE £120 D Novem 418 & 216 HTATES OYJOY E FORD MONDEO 1.6 PORD GRANADA ESTATE PEUQUOT 405 & ROVER 220 COUPS

TO POST COME TRANS. THE BEATE AND SOCIETIES AVAILABLE PART DELIVERY TO LONGON AND CHILDREN. HOME OVER CHE WEEK, FULL RAC SOVER ALL RATES PLUS MAT, CREDIT CARD ACCOMES.

CAR RENTAL Our rates are inclusive of VAT, CDW. Unlimited Mileage and full AA membership and meet and greet service at Airport terminate

PANDA/ CINQUECENTO PIESTA /CORSA MICRA/UNO ESCORT/ASTRA 140.00 20.00 RANGE ROVERS ,525.00 75.00 THE VILLAGE GARAGE, HIGH STREET, DORMANSLAND, SUR-

RRY, RH7 6PY TELEPTIONE:-11 44 1342 833338 PAXI- 00 11 1342 832211

LONDON TOURIST FLATS

(Wimbledon)

f Mins. station..self-contained, fully

equipped, £130-£320/week.

depending on size and sesson.

17 St. Mary's Road, London SW18 7BZ

Tet +44 181 947 0673 Fam +44 181 946 8786

MERSEYAIDE HOLIDAY HOMES (WIRRAL)

(State which brochure required)

15 mine. Liverpool or Chester

2.weeks minimum, - .:

58 Meadow, Godalming, Surrey GU7 3HT UK LONDON HOTELS Tel +44 1483 860046 & APARTMENTS Fax +44 1483 860187

> MARTINS Car Hire Specialists +44 1256 843035 +44 1256 24448 Quote ref GDWK98



* Personal meet & greet service. +44 181 759 4180 Discounte for: expats & diplomete +44 181 759 4190 Unlimited mileage * Full 24 hr A'A & RAC cover Visa/Access accepted ROBERT WHITLEY CAR HIRE Contact us for fully inclusive rate

HEATHROW - GATWICK CARS FROM 689 PW INC ESTATE CARS EL 25 PW INC.

SIERRA, CAY GL FROM £109 INCL ARUGEOT 405 LATE MODEL £149.50 SEAT TOLEDO NEW MODEL DEVEN SEATER RETAIN & LEO GRANADA CIHIA AUTO ELED. CHOICE OF OVER 40 VEHICLES, LNCLUDES! AA COVER, UNLIMETED MILEAGE, INSUR-ANCII AND PRES COLLECTION AND DELLYERY Por an immediate competitive quote telephone 44 (6) 1252 - 702977 Pat 44 (0) 1251 - 703963 Mobile 44 (0) 831 - 116709. 1 The Square, Stread, Surrey GUE 6DD UK.



PERSONAL LIK BOOK

PUBLISHER Invites Authors to send manuscripts for publication under Alternative Bookplan. A practical, low cost, on demand system. We are experienced in all categories, including ecademic and specialized publication to the fighest standards. MERLIN BOOKS LTD (G.W.)

Breuston, Devon EX33 SEA Hingland Tel: +44(0)1271 619430 Fice +44 (0)1971 819117 To place your advertisement

Tel +44 (0) 161 834 8686 Fax +44 (0) 161-839 4436

The Guardian Weekly." 164 Deansgate. Menchester M60 2RR _____ England -- ,

Ø 45

O FAREWELL then, Sir Simon Rattle, Mr CBSO, Mr 150 per cent, Mr Symphony Hall, Mr Everything That Made Birmingham the Nation's New Capital of Classical

I don't like to think how the city is taking the news of Rattle scaling down his role. This is like Scarborough without Alan Ayckbourn, or Ernie Wise without Eric. Rattle has done more than put the CBSO on the map and champion the Symphony Hall; he has come to personify musical excellence in Birmingham. The spotlight that has shone so happily on the CBSO for the last 15 years was focused on him. Now he is moving on, there must be many fears

attracted new audiences. He that it will follow him. earned the respect of local coun-One violinist admitted: "You clilors for his energetic support sit on the edge of your seat of the proposed Symphony Hall because he is so exacting." and he managed to get sums of Another likened him to an alien money from the city council itlife-form: 'He's not the same as self that left other provincial orthe rest of us." Stories abounded chestras green with envy. about Rattle the infant prodigty propped up in bed with an orchestral score just for the fun of it. Then came the concerts dard sufficiently for Birmingwhich set a new standard in the old town hall and the stories

w amount energy to his Under Rattle came more and more recording contracts. But

This scene, and others, are remi-

probably recruit the boy with the

CINEMA

of the piece.

Derek Malcolm



Rattle: tired of the job's sheer intensity

Simon Rattle did more than

mance of Bolero with lasers

conduct. Stunts like the perfor-

As the CBSO grew in prestige

London players to raise the stan-

nd bi recognition of all this

cover that the suspect's hitherto

blameless brother (Isalah Washing-

This is outwardly the stuff of

If A HY ARE you buying 10 many an American police thriller. work of one film-maker, and a past

pairs of sneakers? You But Lee, in concentrating on Strike master at this sort of thing at that.

Spike Lee's Clockers. He's a protec- particular mould. What he fails to Paris, rather like his Le Signe Du

tive, fatherly kind of guy. But he's | do is give the 'hood, with its often | Lion way back in 1959, deals with a

also the local drug baron and villain glamorised culture of violence, the trio of lovers talking their way in and

niscent of A Bronx Tale, Robert De | work all hours. Strike is only an op- | thing that the older this veteran of

Niro's debut as director, in which portunist out to secure his survival in the New Wave becomes, the younger

takes the bus driver's son under his he makes money. If he ices the drug : This could be a grave disadvan-

protective if ultimately menacing | baron's enemy, he rises a long way up | tage, but it doesn't seem to be, even

wing. One of the most truthful the pecking order. To him, the op- if the film is hardly his best. There's

facets of Clockers is its sense of tions are that lousy. Keitel's detective no strain whatsoever, and Rohmer

himself from his extraordinary as the local Mr Big, vicious only another character. It's just the kind

book about ghetto life, Clockers was when crossed. Meanwhile Keitel, as of film Europhobes don't like, but

break new ground, both in his own ... What Clockers intends to do is to | cided upon — it is all so fluent that it

work and that of the rapidly degentated it as it is, and show anger and gives seamlessness a new meaning.

erating gangsta-hip-hop genre. ... passion, in, so doing. Price's: pur- In the first story, The Seven

more than a little sense of dejà vu as ferent. He was a brilliant outsider Esther suspects her boyfriend of

Harvey Keitel's weary but still ideal! looking in. Les tries to be an insider | two-timing her, and when her stolen

istic detective works his way into looking out. He almost succeeds, wallet is returned by the girl with

yet another murder case, finds the but not quite. In the end, Clockers whom he is dallying, she has an

kind of fresh look that's needed.

Chazz Palminteri's local mobster what is very like a jungle. If he deals, are the participants in his films.

ton) has confessed.

gious awards came his way.

When, amid much publicity,

Rocks around the clock

only got one pair of feet," says Deland his world, rather than the detec-

roy Lindo's storekeeper to a kid in | tive's, manages to break out of that |

how the death-dealers, who will knows this, but murder is murder.

else's work, and it tries hard to with his usual skill.

so Rattle began to import

tenary two years ago, you might DUAG DEGU TOLKIAGII IOL RITHIPHIA that the city's most famous son was a boy from Liverpool. Simon Rattle had an Individ-

PHOTOGRAPH: JOHN ROBERTSON

ual style that worked. He was renowned for talking to the orchestra before and after performances. He insisted they called him "Simon" (even today many conductors prefer Mr or Maestro). He was said to know most of their names and even many of their problems. He once, famously, referred to the

work, more than a dozen presti-But now Sir Simon is not renewing his contract as musical director. The job is too much, he Birmingham celebrated its cenexplains: "There are only so

through Lee intended.

It's a fine film, but not the break-

As the recent Four Rooms con-

firmed, short stories by different

directors melded into feature films

seldom work. But Rendez-vous in

Paris, which contains three, is the

Eric Rohmer's latest film, shot in

16mm on the wing in odd corners of

out of relationships. They are all

gives the impression that he is eaves-

but everything is precise and de-

Clockers is slang for dealers who | under 30, and it is an extraordinary

first essay in interpreting someone reverse side of The Bad Lieutenant love. Absolutely nothing happens, volved, as is Quentin Tarantino.

Strike (Mekhi Phifer), only to dist ment doesn't entirely mesh. revenge. In the second Park and this action

many years that any one person can keep up the sheer intensity

What does this mean? The job of a musical director is a very demanding one. It combines all the pressures of conducting with the minutiae of administration. Sir John Barbirolli was perma-nent conductor of the Halle for 15 years from 1943-58, exactly the same length of time that Rattle has been at Birmingham. But these days, there is far more pressure to come up with novel interpretations of great works. The preparation for a concert, and particularly for a recording can be exacting and exhausting for any conductor.

Furthermore if that conductor is tied to a prestigious label like EMI, as Simon Rattle is, the pressure is also on to fly around the world and record with all the other orchestras contracted to

When Barbirolli travelled, might have been contactable or a long distance telephone call eventually. But a modern day musical director will find that around the globe. Even a request for a principal player to be absent from a particular concert had to be faxed to Rattle in New York or telexed to Berlin.

Conductors are like Premiership managers in football. They tend to come in, get the place running as they want it and move on. But Simon Rattle is the Brian Clough of the British music world. In recent years no conductor in Britain has anywhere near as long. So.

although many people in Birmingham today are asking why he's going, many in the music world are asking why he stayed so long.

Benches, Aurore Rauscher wants to

third story, Mother And Child, a

It is sad to report that the talented

tunately married.

mines most things.

A dance to death

the disease has cut such a grim swath through the profession bu also because the world tends, iron cally, to see a kind of immortality in the beauty of dancers' bodies. Y Aids is not an easy subject for choreographers, for dance canno

For Matthew Hart, aged 23, however, Aids is the inescapable issue for his generation, and his new ballet. Dances with Death, premiere by the Royal Ballet at Covent Garden last week, plunges bravely into it. His basic idea may sound trite, but it actually works well. The white-clad corps de ballet representa group of healthy cells, and Hart moves them through elegant patterns which image the body as a formal, utopian community. As the ballet progresses a group of red dancers (the virus) invade these

scene energy.

Hart also isn't helped by his leave her flancé, and takes up with a music. Though Britten's Violin Conyoung professor, but after agreeing certo creates an edgy space for the to spend a day or two with him at a dance to move in, its tensions are too hotel, she then sees her finncé there with another woman. And in the cathartic emotions he's striving for.

The Invitation, chorcographs painter (Michael Kraft) is visited by | by Kenneth MacMillan in 1960, is a Swedish girl. After looking her up | also a young man's ballet, showing and down, he takes her to the the seduction of a pair of adoles Picasso museum where he sees the | cents by a desperate adult couple. woman of his dreams, who is unfor-It's 19 years since this was last performed and though parts now seen On these slight tales, Rohmer | stiffly caricatured others are freshy constructs a series of philosophical shocking. The schoolroom naively and moral studies which underline of the adolescents' world is come both the complications of the would- book stuff, and the older couple are be lovers and the way chance deter- initially unconvincing in their mad-

eyed marital discord. But as the ballet shuffles sexual-

whose guitar case gets him into se-By contrast, Ashley Page's ... produced by Martin Scorsese, who the professional cynic who still be it's one which Europhiles, and fans full of weapons. Steve Buscemi, who flaunts its debonair charm, setting was to have directed it. It is Lee's lieves in something, gives us the of French cinema, in particular, will is usually worth watching, is also in the reliable sizzle of Mukhamedov and Viviana Durante to the sinuous But the characters are not what flamboyance of Liszt's Hungarian matters in this energetic farrago, Rhapsodies. Yet Page doesn't resort since to say they are a little under. to predictable star stunts. Although It doesn't fully succeed, There's poses were perhaps somewhat dif- O'Clock Rendez-vous, Clare Bellar's The best one can say is that Ban- dashing swaths of jumps, and exderas looks good and moves well; ploits Durante's bright speed and and that Rodriguez orchestrates his | feline delicacy, his movement pre unlikely Mexican action movie with sents itself from constantly new

Judith Mackrell

■ IDS has a particular resonance for dance — not only because document or analyse. It is poorly equipped to deal with the daily grind of illness or the enormity of

patterns, moving with a malign, ob-

The four principal figures are a trio infected with the virus, and Death herself. It is here Hart tries. and fails, to shift the ballet to a more human level. The simplified the toric of amount that he gives high lims is largely meaningless because they're never established as people we care for (though Belinda Halle) dances with a fine grieving dignity And the choreography for Darce Bussell as Death teeters on travest as she stabs her *pointes* and swivels her hips like a dominatrix in a ballet;

Robert Rodriguez's Desperado is ity and innocence, a more complimore or less El Mariachi with a big- cated reality emerges. The dead ger budget, but not, unfortunately, a flatness with which the man partbetter script or storyline. Money ners his neurotic wife defines some Phifer's Strike is an outstanding dropping on bourgeois realities, al- clearly isn't everything, even though truth about their marriage while the sneakers before he is much older, portrait, raw but charismatic, and lowing his actors the freedom to be claims of the tiny production costs of pas de deux between him and the have a proprietary interest in patro- Washington, as the decent family almost casual, and even letting pass- El Mariachi were grossly exagger. Girl shows how her innocent steps man trying to hold down two jobs, is era-by look curiously into the camera ated. Antonio Banderas replaces become, for him, provocations. The Taken largely by Richard Price equally fine. So too is Delroy Lindo lens; he also uses Paris as virtually Carlos Gallardo as El Mariachi, final rape is genuinely gruesome.

probable killer, a young man called mixture of thriller and cultural com- opportunity to exact the perfect technical skill, but at 105 minutes lations, flashing danger and compli-

The heart of

modern movements. Even Minimal-

woman he portrays is the kind I like

Not young girls but that wide.

But we can't blame Cézanne for

Cézanne can neither be turned

Cézanne's appeal cannot lie in his

spurious rejuvenation of the

anxiety about what painting could

as fact about our perceptions. Light

exist on their own terms: not ours

cal in painting, who understood that

We know that we are not at the

flickers between, around and

Radical artist with conservative tastes

Cézanne, the painter's painter, comes across as a daunting, difficult and deceptive artist; writes Adrian Searle

February 18 1996

AUL CEZANNE, the hatter's son from Aix-en-Provence, is getting the treatment: major retrospective, a two-kilo catalogue, a credit-card ticket hotline and the second-hand sound-bites of Jeffrey Archer

The Cézanne retrospective at the Tate gallery in London until April 28, which has already been seen in Paris and travels on to Philadelphia, treats us to a magnificent overview of the artist's output from his early 20s to the day of his death.

He is a daunting, deceptive and contrary artist. The block-busting treatment of his work, accompanied by a compendious catalogue which subjects the artist, his contemporaries, his critics and collectors to the minutest scrutiny, leaves him as hard to define as his beloved Mont Sainte-Victoire in a heat-haze. Cézanne remains both obdurate

and distant. Even his self-portraits - which have suffered grandiloquent comparison to Reinbrandt don't let the mask slip, and reward ing stare. The nearest he comes to genuine human affection is in his lion's head on a shrunken body, his | light hits them, the space between gers, perches in a chair. It is almost his solidly painted portrait, lendingthis vulnerable figure an aspect of magisterial inviolability.

But there is something odd about a man who paints his wife as though she were as inert as one of his ap- of nature, it is there, too, in his paintings, the places where the ples: Madame Cézanne, with her | Cézanne's treatment of the quotid- untouched, commercially primed stern mouth, her dead gaze, her lian, often homely world of houses fiercely-parted hair, is locked as | basking in the sun, of apples, com- | stains and crusty dabs of paint. much into the architectonic struc- potiers and rumpled tablecloths and she is in the stifling folds of her card-playing, pipe-puffing rustics. sign of painting's artifice, yet at should remain alone," he said. "Peo- | cards, they are in fact separated and ple's cunning is such that I can't get away from it, it's theft, conceit, infat-, own concentration. uation, rape, seizure of your production, and yet nature is very

Nature, in his landscapes, is very





Natural talent . . . Mont Sainte-Victoire Seen From Bibémus (1897, Baltimore Museum of Art): a scene which Cézanne painted again and again but the only portrait he seemed to endow with genuine affection was of his friend Achille Emperaire (detail below, 1869-70, Musée d'Orsay, Paris)

1870 portrait and drawings of the | beautiful indeed. He doesn't paint | nature, he was never a plodding nat- | vapid post-painterly abstraction and dwarf Achille Emperaire. Em- trees, rocks, scarps as topographi- uralist. "Nature," he said, "I wanted even the fretful ironies of more peraire, with his great, dignified | cal facts, but captures the way the | to copy it, I didn't succeed." Nature provided the motif, but he ism can be laid at Cézanne's door. them. The paint lies emphatically on | recognised it precisely as such. | Henry Moore, who, like Picasso the surface of the canvas. Though, | rather than as the painting's final | and Matisse, once owned one of the

> the painted scene, is the recognition If there is warnth in his portrayal

ships between the men playing

remote, each one isolated within his

It is in the works which come F COURSE, completeness, it does not really explain him nor mostly from the artist's own head that the emotion reveals itself. In his thing as finish, but Cézanne ficult, taciturn, dangerous artist. early work, before he took to headtions with Camille Pissarro, he murders. He painted fanciful mytho- at times, misreading his rejects. But logical scenes, women defiled and caring about an artist's intentions is

Cézanne's creativity was focused as much on volatile content as on form. Olympia; a naked hunk carrying a panion goes in, wildly, with the knife. paintings tended to be raw, hurrled thodical, as though the subject itself carried him along. And it is when his method breaks down that he be- been roped in as the progenitor of comes really interesting. However the school of Euston Road dinge, of

like the Impressionists, he paints | subject. While he observed nature, | Bathers, remarked that "the type of the suddenness of seeing, he is also and attempted to record it. record of the act or planuagrain...a that we are looking at a flat surface hesitations, pauses, corrections, its What a strength . . . almost like the tics and slips. Much has been made | back of a gorilla' of the visible silences and breaks in canvas shows through the mat of | which has happened in art during These ragged holes aerate the painttheir most extreme, these untouched areas lead to questions about his intentions. Is the painting incomplete? Was it abandoned?

> was extremely critical of his own production, and never hesitated to working out. It may be that we are, itself, which, finally, must stand world, much more than a record of be - whether it could or should what the artist might or might not

His awkwardly magnificent painton a bed, a parody of Manet's spired so many subsequent artists, in part because of the peculiarity | the cylinder. deathly pale woman into the bosky and waywardness of their imagery above her head, provided the model onor the artist's. Cezanne, for all his for a figure in Matisse's Joy Of Life. | the painter records the subjectivity

The uses to which Cézanne has of his or her own visions. been put have been endless: he has much Cézanne took consolation in Cubism, Abstract Expressionism,

present problems. After all, the very thing for which they are famous - painting, writing, composing — is hard to drama-tise. But Pam Gems's Stanley at London's Cottesioe is a highly plausible, at times deeply mov ing portrait of Stanley Spencer partly because of an inspired performance by Antony Sher and partly because Spencer's

visionary genius is seen as

inseparable from his sexua

LAYS about artists always

a romantic

Michael Billington

THEATRE

ARTS 27

What is fascinating is that Gems doesn't indulge in easy condemnation: she allows the facts of Spencer's often monstrous behaviour to speak for themselves. We see the artist and his devoted wife, Hilda. enjoying their Cookham paradise — saying their prayers before sex — until Spencer becomes romantically and socially infatuated with his snobbish neighbour. Patricia Preece, who lives with the painter Dorothy Hepworth, Spencer heartlessly junks Hilda, eventually marries Patricia and then tries to find a way of living with

the two women at once. Gems implies that sexual freedom is a condition of artistic activity. Spencer, in her view, is a kind of holy innocent whose vision of Christ returned to a Berkshire village is emotionally connected to his sexual voracity. In the process she demonises in particular, his profound Englishness and attachment to

Moore's sexual tastes or his stodgy At the heart of the play there is sculptures, or for anything else a deep romanticism. Artists are somehow exempt from moral sanctions, Augustus John pops in to embody the idea of the into a colourful "Year In Provence" painter as life-loving bottomannotator of domestic and rustic pincher and, at the end, there is an improbably idville vision of the exemplar of Modern Art, the pastoral England, full of ground-breaking radical, the protobicycling vicars and jovial typical avant-gardist. Scholarship

tells us many things about him, but But, although Gems never asks the awkward question as to why the artist should automatically be given moral licence, she conveys Spencer's strange supposed humanity, whatever that mixture of selfishness and may be, nor, I believe, is current inuniversal love.

Sher also transcends his natural talent for impersonation to capture, perhaps because he is a painter himself, the spiritual essence of Spencer. When he talks of his childhood home or apostrophises his dead wife he catches not only the heart but also the peculiar child-like nascènes: a frock-coated old fart scrutinising a voluptuous naked woman cargo of his imagination and ingams of the sphere, the cone and has done.

Deborah Findlay beautifully Cézanne's curlous, heavy bathers conveys Hilda's saintly forbearresist dissolution. They seem to ance and there is exemplary support from both Anna Chancellor as the supine Patricia and from Selina Cadeli as her Sapphic chum. And, aside from a final kitsch burst of candlelight illuminating Tim' Hadey's practical, pew-laden set, centre of things, but our place in the | John Caird's production is world is uncertain. Cézanne painted | precisely in tune with the play's something very like that uncertainty. devout Anglophilla.



1

Bob's full house

Andy McSmith

Maxwell: The Final Verdict by Tom Bower HarperCollins 478pp £16.99

OR FIVE weeks in the summer of 1990 I had the experience of working as Robert Maxwell's press spokesman. I did not volunteer. Upset that the newspapers were persecuting him again, the Chairman - as we were encouraged to call him - ordered the editor of the Daily Mirror to send him a journalist. I was chosen before I had the chance to say no.

In the weird atmosphere within the entourage of RM (as we were occasionally permitted to call him, affectionately, behind his back), we had to learn by rote the long, random list of friends and enemies. The media correspondent of the Finan- tuan appetites for money, flattery cial Times and the City editor of the | and women are there for the record, Sunday Telegraph were friends. | all are merely elements in a bigger | The sports reporter from Central story, instances which illustrate his TV was OK. Anyone who worked for the Independent was an enemy. But of all the scribblers who were unprovable and improbable theories offensive in the eyes of the pub- about whether Maxwell was murlisher, the worst of all, worse than dered. He simply relates that the aditor of Private Eve was a free. Managell was involved with Deitich the editor of Private Eye, was a freelance writer named Tom Bower.

Having had the impertinence to write Bob's biography without Bob's permission, when Bob was still alive and suing. Mr Bower has | the city's newspaper industry. But | ground to produce a 400-page ac- enough: they do not need to be em- glomerate, MCC, a block worth throws up heroes, or near-heroes. This guide does it splendidly, and now revisited his old lunting the known facts are sensational count of the last year of Maxwell's life and its aftermath. One of the sub-plots recounts Maxwell's des- | rough count, there are around 400 | book from appearing. They in- them being people who dealt with The money which Goldman Sachs cluded having Bower tailed by Maxwell either as a businessman paid out was diverted into a the company further. There were private detectives, who at one point or a self-appointed world states Maxwell-controlled investment com- others, but none who make the Book of Sodom, by Paul seriously proposed to park a detect man. Each one's role is meticute pay Goldman Sachs, so forts to blow the whistle. And all the

compulsively secretive about his nothing about it.

Marcel Berlins

by David Rose

Cape 356pp £17.99

In the Name of the Law: The

Collapse of Criminal Justice

FVERY YEAR hundreds of thou-

there is something rotten in all the | Criminal Prosecution Service,

ment ministers, even Parliament, man to be convicted. It was an indi-

ries that are well-intentioned but to sacrifice the occasional innocent

tic achievements of our time. But, with some regret, I suggest that i you are pushed for time, forget and get your hands on this one in stead. With Maxwell dead, and h sons' first trial over, there is a mass of detail which either was not known before or could not be told. What Bower presents is that most unusual thing, a story which has everything. greed, intrigue, fraud, sex, spies, fa mous names and a mysterious and violent death. All it lacks is a fitting ending, and a decent title. The trial makes for a rather plodding and anti-climactic last chapter, but we cannot blame the writer for that, and I think he presumes too much to call it the "final verdict".

It is, though, a profoundly serious and unsensational narrative, considering the nature of the story he has to tell. Although Maxwell's garganinsane irresponsibility.

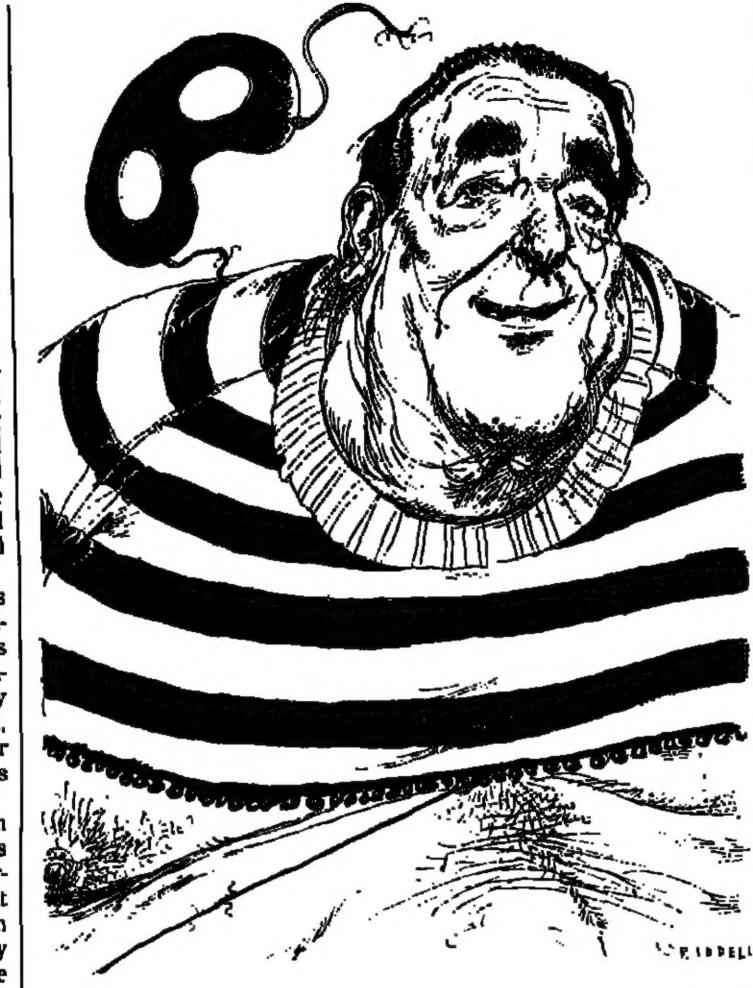
Bower does not waste space on Maxwell was involved with British intelligence, the KGB and probably Mossad, and had problems with the Mob in New York, following his unbellished with wild supposition.

The cast is gigantic. By my

Something rotten in the state of Britain

courts, judges, lawyers, govern- men to be free than for one innocent make the trains run on time.

been created by individuals or theo- argue that it was perfectly all right | fulfil society's expectations.



believably self-indulgent entry into | tor of the pension funds had com- | going around in a circle, but seem | plained that it owned too many not to have asked why. shares in Maxwell's publishing con-Goldman Sachs, who sold them on stands as one of the great journalis- in which, after which the administra- have known that the money was story, — The Observer

Does he make out his case for a tough on the innocent, but so what?

nocent people will be sent to jail for | between the "crime control" lobby

though fewer are at risk than 20 sometimes put, "coercion" versus

system close to collapse? Not quite. We're bagging a lot more villains.

The Maxwell story occasionally about £55 million was sold to who realised that something was wrong and refused to be part of it to the mysterious Lichtenstein- for example the four directors of names listed in the index, most of based trusts owned by Maxwell. MCC who rebelled in 1991 and prevented their chairman plundering man. Each one is tole is the state of that the only effect of all this activity | while off stage were the thousands knew that something was rotten at | was that shares which belonged to | of poor, mugged pensioners, occa-Written in the shadow of threat- the heart of the Maxwell empire, the pensioners had ended up in | sionally mentioned but never heard. | And chosen simply on the grounds ened writs, about a man who was | who for a variety of reasons did | Maxwell's hands, to become secu- | They were simply not interesting to | that the authors have invoked the rity for yet another bank loan. Em- those caught up in the action. And name of the most notorious city of business affairs, the biography There was also a merry-go-round ployees at Goldman Sachs seem to that is by far the worst part of this the plain. As such, it's fascinating:

> ideology, cutbacks or an individual's | legal representation, increase | lice, a special criminal law, and | as a contemporary Sodom. Great ludges' sentencing powers. It's never mind the rights of the white | stuff, and you certainly don't have to racist suspect. In The Name Of The | be gay to enjoy it. Law has many such insights. True, there is a chance that some in- At one level this is a straight fight

comings of the criminal justice ma- by Diane Ackerman (Phoenix, crimes they did not commit - and the civil libertarians; or, as it is chinery, Rose is then obliged to 27.99) offer remedies. His difficulty (and sands of criminals are justifiably years ago, when the Birmingham "consent". The first, unchecked, that of the current government and arrested, not beaten up or framed by Six, the Guildford Four, Judith Ward leads to repression and the suppres- its probable Labour successor) is the senses, written by a master the police, correctly convicted and and Stefan Kiszko were sent down sion of democratic rights. The sec- that there are no solutions, easy or of sinuous prose; all the more approappropriately sentenced. It is worth (though, almost certainly, the wrong ond, if allowed too much scope, otherwise. Fiddling with the trial priate that she should flirt with archmaking that point now, because men are still in prison for the killing creates a society in which the citi- process would help a little; so would ness, considering the clusive nature David Rose's book seeks out the fail- of Carl Bridgewater). But there is | zen feels insecure in the face of ris- | a reformed sentencing structure; so | of fragrances, tastes and palpitations, ings of the system, and it is easy to probably a bigger chance of criminals ing disorder. Britain is living would tilting the balance of police but the book is full of hard facts too. I be seduced by his apocalyptic vision not being caught; or, if caught, get through a phase when the crime powers this way or that, or finding a know now why orange juice tastes: ting off through the incompetence or control adherents have the ideologi- different way to prosecute. There bitter after brushing your teeth. And His thesis — I simplify — is that bad luck of the police and/or the cal advantage. But, crucially, crime are scores of helpful adjustments so, if you read this book, will you. control policies are not working. that could be made. But their cominstitutions that affect criminal jus- The old adage used to proclaim The public has clamoured for Mus- bined effect would be minimal in

Rose's analysis covers the ground by introducing draconian laws and He does not claim that there are cator of society's apparent commit- persuasively. He is particularly pouring huge sums of money into malevolent conspirators undermin- ment to the individual's right to a strong on the role of the police. Un- policing; it can also be fought by ing the system for their own ends. fair investigation and a fair trial, certain of its aims, starved of ade- way of national economic improve-On the contrary, he allows that What would be the acceptable ratio | quate finance and subject to constant | ment and a radical shift in social valmuch of the chaos and injustice has today? The majority would probably shifts of policy, today's force cannot ues. The first option, is politically and morally unacceptable; the oth-He is interesting too (and honest) | ers will take a generation to show find the forces of reality against man if the quid pro quo was a safer in elucidating the dilemma of the any results. Rose does not admit to them. That is scant comfort. Victims | neighbourhood. So give the police | left-liberal. By nature a libertarian, | such pessimism; but he has written of crime as well as of the criminal more powers to stop and search, cut against greater police powers, in a thought-provoking and passionate justice system do not care whether down on suspects' rights under in- favour of suspects' rights, the left- book. That it is ultimately deeply de-

when race enters the picture in the in Purgatory, etc. and Hallam's long form of racial violence. Then he de- autobiographical essay meanders mands greater powers for the po- round London, examining its claims

tice: police, the prosecution service, that it was far better for 100 guilty solini but he has abjectly failed to the context of the problems faced.

Crime can be fought vigorously their misery is caused by a failure of terrogation, deny defendants proper liberal suddenly changes sides pressing is not his fault.

Paperbacks

Nicholas Lezard

Superforce, by Paul Davies (Penguin, £7.99)

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

February 18 1996

HE FIRST edition of this book, which tries to explain to the laity the concepts involved in finding a Grand Unified Theory of nature came out in 1984; the goal is consid erably nearer now. Do not be put of by odd stretches of explication about the spin rates of leptons and busons they're important, and Davies writes with exhibitanting enthusiasm, a most poetic intensity, about his sub ject: the creation of the universe from nothing except geometry.

99 Poems in Translation. ed Harold Pinter, Anthony **Astbury and Geoffrey** Godbert (Faber, £7.99)

■ O INTRODUCTION, no notes Y no parallel texts of the originals you have to infer this anthology's rationale yourself. But every poem the field is all recorded literature is a gent. "Even modest Penelope, when Ulysses snored,/Kept her hand on the sceptre of her lord." (From James Michie's version of Martial.)

The Time Out Guide to Budapest (Penguin, £9.99)

■ PICK this out of a new series of Time Out guides on the grounds that I know very well that Budapest is a hard, if rewarding, nut to crack. gypsy violinists from your restauit is printed on super-heavy paper which will be cursed by the burdenconscious traveller.

Hallam (Verso, £10.95)

■ N ECLECTIC anthology, entries contemporary accounts of trials for public indecency, a passage from Proust, Dante's meeting with Arnaut

Having demonstrated the short- A Natural History of the Senses,

Books@7//cGuardian Weekly

To order any of the books reviewed: Phone: (+44) 181 964 1251 (+44) 181 964 1254 Email: bid@mail.bogo.co.uk

Payment by credit card/cheque payable to: The Guardian Weekly Books Postal address: 29 Pail Mall Deposit, Barlby Road, London W10 6BL, UK.

Airmail postage costs: Europe Rest of World

Hardback — £3,95 Paperback -- £1.95

February 18 1996

How Kew's seeds were sown

Eric Korn

Kew: The History of the Royal **Botanic Gardens** by Ray Desmond Harvill 466pp £25

I T WAS two generations of royal discord that produced Kew. George I took against his son, newly arrived from Hanover, and his daughter-inlaw, Caroline, and sent them out of London, to the charming villas and grottoes of Twickenham to garden, if that was what they wanted to do.

Their child, Frederick Augustus, was left in Germany with tutors until he was 21. He, in his turn, arrived in England to Useswar that his father (now George II) despised him and his mother hated him. So he married docile Augusta and they went off to Richmond — to a house adjacent to his parents' former place of exile.

Frederick built, beautified, cultivated, died. The various parks and gardens and palace grounds eventually fused to become Kew Gardens, Family affections were displaced on to plant families. Lord Bute, chief supporter to the bereaved Princess of Wales - gossip linked them in more than botany gathered exotics from Georgia, China, the Cape. Meanwhile, Frederick's

brother became George III, losing America in a fit of sanity and starting to build Kew's castellated palace, "an image of distempered reason". Never roofed,
it was demolished along with the
host of ethnic follies that came

and went with tides of fashion and landscape theory: Merlin's Cave, the temples Pan, Solitude, Eolus, Peace and Military Victory, the hermitage (with resident hermit) and the mosque. But, mad or sane, George III supported Joseph Banks, and let

scientific institute. Banks, the great biological and cartographic entrepreneur and panjandrum, his own exploring days (with Captain Cook) done was everywhere, gathering seeds and dried plants, building a li-brary with his duo of Swedish librarians, Solander and Dryander, publishing and being published, granting or refusing cuttings to supplicants, dispatch

ing plant-hunters (Scottish bach-

and meddling with the ecology of

elors preferred) in all directions.

him turn the royal gardens into a

gradually and reluctantly liber-

the tropics. Captain Bligh was sent to Tahiti to pick up a few breadfruit for Jamaica — which he did, eventually. Later, rubber plants were smuggled out of Brazil, bananas and palms and pineapples sent hither and you until the Earth wore a cummerbund of ugly plantations round its tropical middle.

George IV prettified Kew. William IV neglected it. A duke Cumberland wanted it as a game preserve. It was not until the 1830s, when the Crown lost interest in it as a residence, that the various portions were fought over between the botanisers and those (especially in the Treasury) who thought that pleasure gardens would be less expensive. The job of running it as a scientific institution went to the admirable William Hooker. He spent 20 years there; his son, following him in the post, another 20. Public access to Kew was

had to wear a tall hat and a black or white neckerchief. In 1879, the current Hooker feared that the woods would be infeated by "a swarm of filthy children and women of the lowest class" using the arboretum for immoral purposes. In 1919, the Daily Express cried "Mad Women invade Kew Gardens", but these were suffragettes, not bacchantes maddened by all that fertility. It took a demure riot or two to abolish the morningsreserved for "artists and students". Only recently has price been used to keep the public

alised. At one time, male visitors

sion (unforgivably) 400-fold. This is a work of scholarly record, using new-found archival material; sometimes Ray Desmond (once librarian at Kew) stands too close to his sub ject. He writes delicately, but is too deferential.

chester, in the forties and fifties.

There was much marching of bands

in the village, and people dressed in

"the kind of clothes the Queen

might wear". "I took that essential

frumpiness," Westwood "says" in

this account, "and reworked it to

Westwood's family moved to Lon-

account of Westwood and McLaren's

light on both their symbiosis and

A S THEY repeatedly tore down

out. In 1980, the first of nine

separate increases raised admis

Ghost writing

Natasha Walter

The Hundred Secret Senses by Arny Tan Flamingo 321pp £15.99

THER best, Amy Tan both comforts and surprises us. Like Alice Walker and Javne Anne Phillips and Jane Smiley and all those other ambitious American women novelists. Tan nes a knot in two strands of writing. She gives us romance and questions it, she gives us home and makes it a lost home, she gives us the charms of China and the charms of America, and questions the values of each. This is a big, loose, popular novel with a twisted thread of irony running So when her Chinese-American

heroine, Olivia Yee, finally sees China for the first time, she recognises it: "I feel as though we've stumbled on a fabled misty land. like I've seen this place before . . . feel as if the membrane separating she have there? When she tries out passerby, he replies in American. "Asshole," he says succinctly. The lack of central heating, the subsistence lifestyle, the owls sold for food as it charms her.

Olivia's only real link to China comes through her half-sister Kwan, who came to live with Olivia's partly through language. Although family in San Francisco as a child. most of the book is told from Kwan is one of the most maddening. "Olivia's point of view, in a bland, ebullient characters you will ever easy American, with Kwan's speech Libby-ah," weaves through the style - we are given to believe it is book, together with her oddly bro- a translation from the Mandarin. ken speech, "Libby-ah, ask Simon | - name of stereo fix-it store, what | the thickness, the textures of lanis?" and her inexplicable love for guage. Much of the women's rela-

heroine, with her silly adoring ways | lives, Olivia teaches Kwan English | and her podgy body and broken | and helps her through its banal intell Olivia in their childhood, are feels a pull at her heart. But in their erfully than her answers.



woven through the novel. This in- past lives, Kwan - as Nunumu women were both figures of fun, I this in Chinese. After I told her, she with their bad dress sense and su- said to me in Chinese: Miss Moo, I mythic romance and wisdom.

This double vision is achieved Indeed, Amy Tan is fascinated by

tionship is built through language. Although Kwan is a kind of anti- In their contemporary American

been shed." But what foothold does | which Tan makes Kwan both the | an American missionary - to talk | with apparent seriousness, in terms Luck Club. There, all the Chinese her body and asked me how to say - everything alienates her as much perstitions and obsessive eating wish to know many words for talk- this book, and gave him access habits; and repositories of almost | ing about my breasts! And: only | backstage at one of her shows, the | ideas against a shortfall of obvious then did I realise she wanted to talk | author cut his ties with Westwood about the feelings in her heart."

These sharp linguistic patterns weave through an easy, straightforward plot. Olivia is having terrible | early years together as a means of | self in odd behavioural tics and troubles with her husband, and meet. Her endlessly chanted ver- rendered in broken English, Kwan's | wants a divorce. Kwan is set against | pact they were to make as King's | iour. He clearly enjoys the idea that sion of Olivia's name, "Libby-ah, own tales are given in a different | it. She finally tells Olivia the kernel | Road shopkeepers and the masterkept Olivia and her true love apart. gether with interviews with those Now that they are all reincarnated | around Westwood, in the facetious Kwan must bring Olivia and Simon | device of "an imaginary interview" together. In a grandiose, fairy-tale | with the designer. This immediately denouement, all Kwan's prophecies gives an air of speciousness to his come true. Delightful, or a cop-out? enterprise, even if he assures us in

The sugary optimism of this end- his introduction that he "didn't English, her voice comes to domi- sults and jokes. When the neigh- ing shortchanges the explorations niake any of it up, though you might nate the book. She believes that she | bourhood kids tease them, "Olivia's | and dissonances of the rest of the | be tempted to think so". can see and speak to ghosts, and sister is a retard," Kwan is quiet for book. Olivia's journey is more interher long tales of a past life in 19th | a while, and then, "Libby-ah, what | esting than her arrival, and Amy | it" here, attributes the source of the century China, which she begins to this word; lee-tahd?", and Olivia Tan's questions resonate more pow- eccentric combination of convention

Designer revolution flavour of her lower middle-class up bringing in Tintwhistle, near Man-

Eve MacSweenev

Fashion and Perversity: A Life of Vivienne Westwood and the Sixties Laid Bare by Fred Vermorel Bloomsbury 245pp £16.99

THIS IS a curious and uncomfortable book. It is less about Vivi- subvert it with a touch of glamour." enne Westwood than Malcolm McLaren, whom the author is don in her late teens, and she marclearly both more interested in and 1 ried at 20, became a schooljeacher more familiar with. And it's less | and had a son. She met McLaren about either of them than about I through her brother, and became Fred Vermorel, for, as he pompously | fascinated by him. justifies himself in his introductions "Biographies, after all, overlap, and tunism of his approach. Vermorel's shared circumstances and attitudes can say it all." Vermorel has the dis- | collaboration | throws | interesting tinction of having been friends, as a teenage art student in Harrow, with | their rivalry, particularly as West-McLaren, and of having participated | wood slowly came out of McLaren's in the Paris '68 riots (rather than just | shadow and began to outstrip him wishing he had, like McLaren, who with the success of her designs. arrived after the riots had finished). Both of these facts appear to have shaped his life. He has made a ca- and reinvented themes for popular culture that he lived nomenon of rock fans: consumerism

Though Westwood granted Ver-

and McLaren in the early eighties.

Vivienne's life story, as she "tells

and unruliness in her designs to the

reer of writing and lecturing on the their King's Road shop (Sex, Seditionaries, etc), which they used as a through: the Sex Pistols; the phe- | "playpen for [their] ideas", the Vivienne of this account claims: " and mass media. Vermorel's writing | needed him to feed me with ideas is still entrenched in the rhetoric of | and he still needed me to turn his triguing sleight of hand, through | teaches Olivia — as Miss Banner, | his youth: he describes his activities, | ideas into clothes." Later they would battle for the authorship of punk most marginal and also the most au- | Chinese, and tentatively the women | of "the revolution", and he is | which is deemed by Vermorel to her carefully polite Mandarin on a | thoritative character in the book, | make contact. "One day, Miss Ban- | boyishly enamoured of such notions | have been more a fashion statemen will be familiar to readers of The Joy | ner touched her palm on the front of | as transgression, subversion and | than a musical or political mani-A devastating portrait of McLaren

morel one meeting over dinner for | emerges in these pages as he constantly pits the grandiosity of his talent. Vermorel proudly posits the diagnosis that McLaren suffers For pragmatic reasons, if none from Tourette's syndrome, a neuroother, he therefore focuses on their logical disorder which manifests it tracing the roots of the cultural im- foul-mouthed and antisocial behav-Westwood and McLaren in turn inof the tales of their past lives. In the | minds of punk. In the first section, | fluenced the behaviour of a genera-19th century. Kwan believes, she he uses his own reminiscences, to tion by customising the symptoms of Tourette syndrome into an attitude and a style.

> **NEW AUTHORS** PUBLISH YOUR WORK ALL SUBJECTS CONSIDERED Fiction, Non-Fiction, Biography, Religious, Poetry, Childrens': . . AUTHORS WORLD-WIDE INVITED Write or send your manuscript to MINERVA PRESS

2 OLD BROMPTON ROAD, LONDON 8W7 3DQ

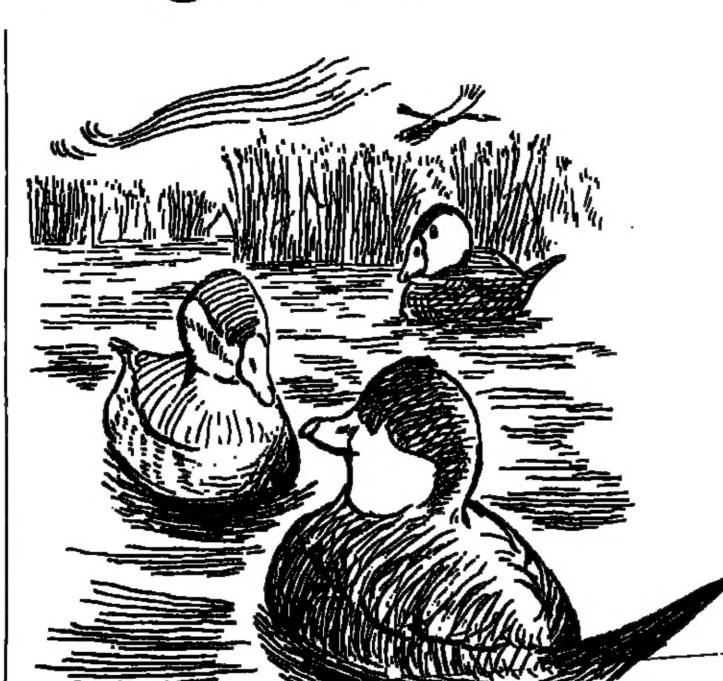


T'S AN allen invader, it's got a bad reputation, a supercharged libido, it's got conservationists hot and bothered and it's got a daft name. With a CV like that, the ruddy duck is on a hiding to nothing. Thanks to an international conspiracy of scientists, governments and some conservation agencies, the ruddy duck was destined to be severely "managed". That is a clinical way of saying "blasted out of the water". But just last week, there were conflicting reports that the British Environment Secretary, John Gummer, would grant a reprieve for the duck, and then that he wouldn't. There is some murky polltics behind the ruddy duck issue and no one wants to come clean for fear of alienating conservation from

public opinion. The North American ruddy duck, Oxyura jamaicensis, is a small, reddish-brown member of the "stiff-tails", common on American and Canadian freshwater marshes during the breeding season, moving to coastal salt water habitats in the winter. It was introduced to Britain almost 50 years ago by the eminent naturalist Sir Peter Scott, who bred in lakes and reservoirs throughout

In parallel, a close relation of the | the species heartland. ruddy duck, the white-headed duck, Oxyura leucocephala, was in a dangerous decline in Spain. The populasome credibility, the Spanish au- | Britain, a working group of conserthorities mounted a huge rescue ef- | vationists was set up here to plan | are people willing to stand up for fort to save their white-headed the "final solution". There is confu- the bird. And, rumour has it, ducks and build up the population. sion about whether or not the cull during some "trials" the ruddies Then, in 1991, a few hybrids were | will take place, what sites will be | have proved almost impossible to discovered and allegations were lev- chosen, and how much it will all shoot. All in all, these ducks are elled at visiting randy ruddy ducks | cost (rumours are tens of thousands | going to be ruddy difficult to get from Britain whose foreign genes | of pounds).

ing legal protection.



were putting the future of the whiteheaded duck at risk. cally isolated from the rest of the O. purity and ecological cleansing. at the table — I would open 1♥ every

The Spanish duck is itself genetiaddition to the wildfowl fauna, gain- extinction of the white-headed duck, and would eventually contaminate

most ruddles were to be found in southern Russia and Turkey think.

That taxonomy can lead to such hysteria is worrying and raises a multitude of suspicions about racial never bring myself to pass this hand the auction to develop. I'd bid 14, it at his wildfowl reserve at Slim- | leucocephala species found in south- | While scientists pore over genetic | time. Pass second choice, 1 third. bridge. For more than 40 years, the ern Russia, Turkey and Azerbaijan. duckprints, matching up DNA ruddy ducks expanded their range. The fear grew that the polluting smudges, what really is the danger genes of the ruddies would run of this interbreeding? How sacro-Britain and were welcomed as an amok through Spain, leading to the sanct is a species that seems so eager to hybridise?

ILLUSTRATION: BARRY LARKING

Many ornithologists are suspicious of the circumstantial evidence ninned on the British ruddy ducks. RESSURE from Spain and They are not the only ones to escape the European Union re- from collections. It would be intersulted in 10 countries agree- esting to know what Spanish ecoloing to a programme of "control" for giete and naturalists make of this, the ruddy duck in Europe. Since and also what their colleagues in

The ruddy duck has allies. There

Bridge Zia Mahmood

THESE are my answers to the bid- | I believe in supporting partner when | ding problems in the Christmas | I can, so 27 is attractive. But it is competition. Thanks to all of you best to look towards a 4-4 spade fit. who entered — I'll let you know next | I'd bid 14, with 2♥ a close second week the solution to the play prob- choice and INT a distant third. lem and the names of the winners!

Problem 1 Your hand is:

♦3 ♥AK654 **♦**QJ8743 **♣**5

West North East South

Rank in order of preference the calls:

1♥, 1♦, Pass. I don't like 10 much, since it risks | Very difficult! Horrible things seem never being able to show the hearts | to happen to me when I make a take safely. If partner responds 14, for ex- out double without adequate support ample, I'm going to have to rebid 20 | for one of the major suits. Partner. because the hand is not strong rightly, expects me to have a fit for will never convince partner that I or even four hearts if I doubted I have five hearts after that start to the don't object to 24, but I'd prefer to have a longer or stronger suit. I'd ex-I'd rather not feel obliged to show the pect my partner to look for 3NT if he hearts and be put back to diamonds | held something like \$A4 and a diaat a higher level. I'd prefer pass to 1 mond stopper facing a 2 overcall — - perhaps the opponents will bid the | and he'll be disappointed with this

Problem 2 Your hand is:

★J986 ♥KQ4 ◆653 ★Q97

North East

Rank in order of preference the calls:

hand that may only make one bid in | wouldn't open 2NT, since it's not the auction, should I show the weak four-card spade suit via 14, or the heart support despite lack of ruffing | to open to with some partners, who values via 2♥, or the balanced nature | favour the weak two bid when possiof the hand via 1NT? The hand has | ble, but I'd be happy to open with an too much in hearts and not enough | Acol 20 if I could. Since it's my comin the minors for me to suggest no | petition, I'll open 24 for preference, trumps - let partner bid them first. | with 1 second and 2NT third. | 0

Problem 3 Your hand is:

◆AK 104 ♥A3 ◆J9 ◆K 10965

South West North East

Runk in order of preference the calls: 2♠, 1♠, Double.

enough for a reverse into 2V, and I his major, and might jump to three black suits, and I can then show my dummy if he does. 14 may work limited two-suiter via a cue bid or a | badly, but it could also work well if takeout double. But I know I could | find a 4-4 fit, and it leaves room for

Problem 4 Your hand is:

♦A4 ♥K7 ♦ΛKJ632 ♣A76

South West North East

Rank in order of preference the cals: 2NT, 2♦, 1♦.

This hand, with its array of controls and a good suit, has great potential for slain if we have a fit. That's why I perhaps clubs after that start. I'd have

Football Coca-Cola Cup semi-final first leg: Birmingham City 1 Leeds United 2

Leeds get a glimpse of Wembley

David Lacey

EEDS UNITED survived the Birmingham experience uneasily on Sunday to move within sight of their first League Cup final for 28 years and their first final of any kind at Wembley for 23.

A 2-1 lead guarantees nothing for the return game but on the evidence of this match leeds should have enough attacking nous to go through to meet Arsenal or Aston Villa on March 24.

Sunday was Birmingham City's day and for a time it promised to be Birmingham's story. Certainly Barry Fry's enthusiastic, hardworking First Division team provided the bulk of the drama. But in the end Leeds provided the

anti-climax, responding to the lead Birmingham had taken midway through the first half with two goals after the interval, the second of these going in off a home defender,

For their visit to Elland Road, Birmingham will put their trust in , the pace and persistence which, for a time on Sunday, had Leeds grateful simply to keep the ball beyond scoring range. The lie is not over yet. Leeds looked impressive at times,

nervous at others. The opening quarter-hour was a demonstration of McAllister's creative skills but, as



United we stand . . . Leeds winger Danny Wallace (top) celebrates his part in Yeboah's goal at St Andrews PHOTOGRAPH: GAVIN BLYTH

Birmingham better than Claridge, | Claridge announced Birmingham's | Whyte and sailed on whose career has been spent trudg- presence with a marvellous volley soon as Birmingham began to sus- ing around football's lowlands. He past the top far angle after 16 Sports Diary Shiv Sharma

tain pressure, Howard Wilkinson's was more determined than anybody minutes. From that moment Birmdefence started to dissolve in a not to let the chance of appearing in ingham always believed they could Nobody encapsulated the spirit of down, shirt and shorts flapping, midfield was tireless in pursuit of might have been.

space and possession, the gangling Francis, 6ft 7in of arms and knees, became an increasingly awkward problem for Beesley and Wetherall. and always Claridge was harassing and hustling opponents into error.

St Andrews sensed celebrations were not far away. Sure enough, Birmingham took the lead after 26 minutes. A ball from Sheridan, on loan from Sheffield Wednesday, caught Beesley out of position on its way to Claridge, who nodded Francis through to score with a resounding shot from just beyond the penalty arc. At this point Leeds, for all McAllister's scolding, had lost their sense of tactical discipline. Yeboalı, however, remained a consistent threat.

The Ghanaian's close control and tight turns were ever likely to conjure scoring opportunities. Eight minutes into the second half a mistake by Johnson allowed Wallace to send Yeboah through for the sort of chance he rarely misses and Griemink was beaten by a low shot | Colombo in the wake of last

St Andrews looked blue but, after Fry had brought on Donowa and Otto to give his attack more natural width, Birmingham re-established the dominance they had enjoyed in the first half. One dash by Donowa , from penalty area to penalty area was especially memorable. By that time, however, Leeds had

Yeboah met Kelly's cross from the right with a sharp downward header, whereupon the ball flew up, struck the head of the hapless Griemink's reach. With Bowen, another Birmingham substitute, dragging his shot wide in the 88th a major Wembley final pass. Socks | achieve a significant lead. Their | Andrews could only reflect on what

It will place a question mark

Murdoch's News Corporation, airs OLOMBIAN striker Faustino racial stereotyping and the current onds at the Reno Air Games in Walcott, aware of the damage broke the 50-metre world in hanging over their achievement. matches of the 20 Premiership clubs.

Caprilla became a Newcastle vogue for overseas players. The Nevada. His time beat the previous that could be done to the image But the future availability of teleUnited player when the on-off £6.7

Claim is made in a report by the mark of 5.61sec, set by German of international cricket and to the relationships between the million deal was signed to end Midland Asian Sports Forum, fol- Manifred Kokot in Berlin In 1973 the relationships between the

A /HILE the recent Arctic condi-

OCKEY Walter Swinburn, winner of three Epsom Derbys, was admitted to the intensive care unit of a Hong Kong hospital on Sunday after suffering a crashing fall at Sha scene, two other overseas players | Tin racecourse, Swinburn, aged 34,

mount veered across the track and | it is perfectly feasible that, in

& Hedges Masters trophy to his | tions in the two qualifying group five world and four UK titles by tables - first in one of the two beating the defending champion groups plays the fourth-placed Ronnie O'Sullivan 10-5 in the final at | team in the other — it can mate-Wembley Conference Centre on | rially affect the progress of the

SPORT 31 Cricket World Cup

Laser dazzle I fails to lift 1 Cup gloom

Mike Selvey

THE 110,000 people who Jammed into Eden Gardens in Calcutta on Sunday night saw a dazzle of laser light and ethnic dancing inaugurate the sixth World Cup. After doubts that it might go ahead at all, it was something to celebrate. But it goes ahead as a devalued competition after the organisers, Pilcom, failed to reach agreement with either Australia or West Indies over the scheduling of matches in Sri Lanka.

Australia and West Indies had both refused to play qualifying matches against Sri Lanka in month's bombing. But, despite assurances that security would be possibly the tightest yet seen at a sporting event and offers to fly teams in and out of the country on the day of the match, hours of back-room bartering and delicate negotiation by Pilcom, the International Cricket Council — led by its chairman gone ahead. In the 72nd minute | Sir Clyde Walcott — and representatives of Australia and West Indies resulted in stak-mate.

Neither qualifying match will take place, Australia and West Indies will have to make the quarter-finals on the strength of results in their remaining four matches (although with Kenya and Zimbabwe in the group that should not prove a problem) and Sri Lanka almost certainly have qualified already on account of the maximum four points — as opposed to the two that had been anticipated — that they will take from the walkovers.

over the authenticity of the tournament. Sri Lanka are a major force now in one-day cricket and smashed through the inside run- front of their home supporters, matches. Almost certainly they would have qualified for the quarter-finals. Thereafter, though, with quarter-final pairings depending on relative positournament as it assumes knockout mode. Whichever side lifts the trophy in Lahore on March ONOVAN BAILEY of Canada 17 will do so with a hint of doubt

but with the ICC having no power to impose a solution, in the end had to admit failure and suggested that ICC should carry "more clout".

Quick crossword no. 301

store (8)

-odd (7)

company -

car (6)

20 Irritate (5)

21 Pain (4)

18 Penetrate (5)

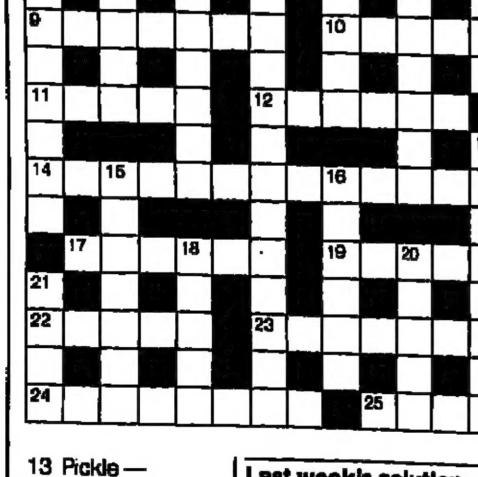
Across

- 1 Competent (4) Advantage or disadvantage (8)
- 9 Calm ocean (7) 10 Proprietor (5) 11 Surpass (5)
- 12 Discerned (6) 14 Forger (13) 17 Dinner Jacket (6)
- 19 Crude (5) 22 Woo -tribunal (5) 23 Colleague (7) 24 Increased (8)

25 Cowshed (4)

- Come closer to
- landmark (3,2,8) 5 Sag (5)
- inside (7) ' Separate portion (4)

water (6)



Down

- --- an entrance (8) 2 Lawful (5) 15 Extraordinary 4 Parisian 16 Provide
- 6 Happy —
- 8 Resting on

Last week's solution HOROSCOPE P II R O A A LIIST GALLANTRY N I BEFRIVAL A E OANCEL DEALER A I WAGER E Y NOTE UF RW RETHRESHOLD

Chess Leonard Barden

∧ CHESS opening's popularity can ebb and flow according to the assessment of a single critical line. A favourable analysis means that GMs will sidestep into calmer non-forcing variations, while the opening's increased fashion at top level percolates down to club and weekend matches. If the balance then shifts and the key variation looks dubious, there's a mass exodus as experts adjust their repertoire.

3 Nc3 c5 4 d5 exd5 5 cxd5 d6 | Qe5+ when the solid white play is 6 Nf3 | 19 0-0-0 Rhe8 20 Bxc5 Rac8 with e4, Be2 and Nd2 while the 21 Bd4 Qg2 22 Qa3! sharp approach is 6 e4 g6 7 f4 Black's Q-side still collapses, and This was known in Tal's heyday, but | too slow. when Kasparov scored a few impres-

sive white victories around 1980, many Benoni players got scared. Recent analysis has centred on 8 Bb5+ Nbd7 9 e5 dxe5 10 fxe5 Nh5, offering a piece for attack. If Black could get away with it, other pre-database Benoni moves and ideas

Ivan Sokolov-Veselin Topalov,

(first 10 moves as above) 11 e6 Qh4+ 12 g3 Nxg3 13 hxg3 Qxh1 14 Be3 Bxc3+ 15 bxc3 a6 16 exd7+ Bxd7 17 Bxd7+ Kxd7 18 Qb3! Bosnia's No 1, Sokolov, and his Bulgarian No 1 rival are hot on theory, so this is clearly pre-game homework.

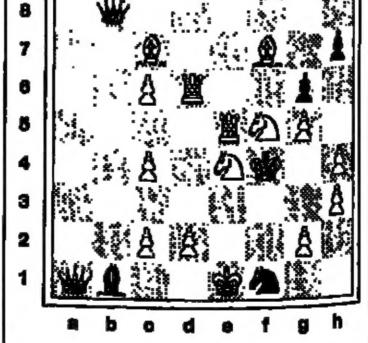
b5?! This attempt to keep Black's The Modern Benoni, once the | Q-side intact fails. Can Black try most feared weapon of the leg- Rae8? One plausible line then is 19 endary tactician Mikhail Tal, is a Qxb7+ Kd8 20 0-0-0 Rxe3 21 Qb8+ good example of the critical line syn- Kd7 22 Qxh8 Qe4 when 23 Qxh7? drome. It begins 1 d4 Nf6 2 c4 e6 loses to Rxc3+ 24 Kb2 Rc2+ 25 Ka1

Bg7 8 Bb5+ and if Nfd7 9 Bd3. his counterplay against the WK is Rcc8 25 Qxb5+ Kd6 26 Ka1

or Kd8 Bf6+ wins. Fide's new president, Kirsan hidden black defences, so allow Ilyumzhinov, has shocked top play- | yourself half an hour or more. ers by proposing an annual knockfrom the fifties and sixties would be out world championship, settled by No 2407: 1 Bb6. If Ke2 2 Nd4, or R come interesting. Sadly, this week's only two or four games in the final any 2 Qf1, or f4 2 Bxg4, or B any 2 as against the current 20. He wants | Oxd3.

to stage the first title KO for a \$5.25 million prize fund in his semiautonomous republic of Kalmykia, a near-neighbour of Chechenia.

No 2408



White mates in two moves, against Qxg3 23 Qxa6 Rxc3+ 24 Kb2 | any defence (by H Prins, 1987). A tricky test this week, which previous Qa3 27 Bb2 Qc5 28 Qa6+ Kd7 | solvers described as "a shoal of red 29 Qa4+ Resigns. If Kd6 30 Ba3 herrings" and "genuinely difficult". At least three near-misses fail to

to the eight "listed" sporting events. | Europe's top clubs more money-

The Lords defeat came hours ring the Premiership's television Restrictive Practices Court, in a tions for the broadensting of all sport in Britain.

The reference will mean a thorough investigation of the exclusive contract by which BSkyB, the satellite broadcaster 40 per cent owned by

the majority of viewers in Britain when 10 major sporting bodies, manded the freedom to negotiate Contracts without being restricted to the terrestrial networks.

A PLAN which could see 10 English football clubs playing in victory (results and tables, page 32). Europe next season and 15 in 1997-Week, Under the scheme, two Engcompleted the signing of Branco on facturers. It beats the previous other: "What's he doing here?" and a feet million and of the signing of the signing of the scheme, two Engcompleted the signing of Branco on facturers. It beats the previous other: "What's he doing here?"

THE Government suffered a | the Cup Winners' Cup. There would | House of Lords last week places for England and one for Scot-

The changes are aimed at giving making ties in an attempt to head ' lucrative competitions. The bluebroadcasting arrangements to the print was attacked by the game's world governing body Fifa. Its presimove that could have wide implica- dent, João Havelange, said he was strongly against the European federation's intentions to expand its club competitions to give more places to teams from leading nations.

Inceting in London last week, de- the Serie A club, Parma, The fouryear-old deal paid instant dividends when Asprilla came on as substitute in last Saturday's north-east derby

was unveiled by the Continent's son meanwhile made his second week Hustand Uefa in Geneva last Son meanwhile made his second world's leading sportswear manu-hand, one rallway official asked authors when the club hand, one rallway official asked authors when the club hand, one rallway official asked authors when the club hand, one rallway official asked authors when the club hand, one rallway official asked authors when the club hand, one rallway official asked authors when the club hand, one rallway official asked authors when the club hand, one rallway official asked authors when the club hand, one rallway official asked authors when the club hand, one rallway official asked authors when the club hand, one rallway official asked authors when the club hand, one rallway official asked authors when the club hand, one rallway official asked authors when the club hand, one rallway official asked authors when the club hand, one rallway official asked authors when the club hand, one rallway official asked authors when the club hand, one rallway official asked authors when the club hand are the club hand.

Branco joins team-mate Juninho a' Peers vote for viewers " the club after buying out his contract with Brazil's Internacional, While these two South American stars enter the English soccer

humiliating defeat in the be two additional qualification mitreset of Romania and Switzerwere shown the door when Illie Du- suffered serious injuries after his when preers voted by 223 to 106 — a land in the Uefa Cup, which is being work permits by the Department of ning rail, catapulting him to the they would have won their agreed to pay Tottenham £1.5 million for the Romanian, and Everton, after an announcement from the Of- off any thoughts of these clubs for £800,000, are furious over the Hendry added a sixth Benson ruling and are planning an appeal. Both players have fallen short of

the DoE requirements for foreign players who must have played per cent of their club's first-team fixtures to qualify for new permits. Meanwhile it is claimed that British Asian footballers represent a large pool of untapped domestic ralent but their progress into the pro-

weeks of protracted negotiations be lowing a survey of British Asian and equalled by American James | countries, sought a compromise, footballers and the professional Sanford 15 years ago. game's attitude towards them. against Middlesbrough and set up a VI signed the biggest kit sponsor- widespread disruption to train sergoal for Watson. Another by Les | ship deal in British football history. Ferdinand gave the Magpies a 2-1 The six-year contract with Umbro is Rail humour. Spotting Howard West Indies, understandable as

A ANCHESTER UNITED have said to be worth £65 million. The Kendall, manager of First Division Middlesbrough boss Bryan Rob- deal follows months of negotiations strugglers Sheffield United, at the cricket world and with both

1